

# Missouri Historical Review



Published by  
*State Historical Society Missouri*  
July 1944

**OFFICERS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF  
MISSOURI, 1944-1947**

ISIDOR LOEB, St. Louis, President  
GEORGE ROBB ELLISON, Maryville, First Vice-President  
HENRY C. CHILES, Lexington, Second Vice-President  
RUSH H. LIMBAUGH, Cape Girardeau, Third Vice-President  
MERRILL E. OTIS, Kansas City, Fourth Vice-President  
Fifth Vice-President  
LUDWIG FUERBRINGER, St. Louis, Sixth Vice-President  
R. B. PRICE, Columbia, Treasurer  
FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Columbia, Secretary and Librarian

**TRUSTEES OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF  
MISSOURI**

**Permanent Trustees, Former Presidents of the Society**

ALLEN McREYNOLDS, Carthage  
GEORGE A. ROZIER, Perryville  
WILLIAM SOUTHERN, JR., Independence

**Term Expires at Annual Meeting, 1945**

MORRIS ANDERSON, Hannibal	HENRY C. THOMPSON, Bonne Terre
LUDWIG FUERBRINGER, St. Louis	WILLIAM L. VANDEVENTER, Spring-
PAUL C. JONES, Kennett	field
FATHER LAURENCE J. KENNY, S. J., St. Louis	GEORGE H. WILLIAMS, St. Louis
HENRY KRUG, JR., St. Joseph	CHARLES L. WOODS, Rolla

**Term Expires at Annual Meeting, 1946**

JESSE W. BARRETT, St. Louis	JAMES TODD, Moberly
ALBERT M. CLARK, Richmond	JONAS VILES, Columbia
HENRY J. HASKELL, Kansas City	T. BALLARD WATTERS, Marshfield
WILLIAM R. PAINTER, Carrollton	L. M. WHITE, Mexico
JOSEPH PULTIZER, St. Louis	

**Term Expires at Annual Meeting, 1947**

FRANK P. BRIGGS, Macon	FREDERICK M. SMITH, Independence
STEPHEN B. HUNTER, Cape Girar- deau	E. E. SWAIN, Kirksville
WALDO P. JOHNSON, Osceola	R. M. THOMSON, St. Charles
E. LANSING RAY, St. Louis	ROY D. WILLIAMS, Boonville

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

The twenty-eight trustees, the President and the Secretary of the Society, the Governor, Secretary of State, State Treasurer, and President of the University of Missouri constitute the Executive Committee.

# *Missouri Historical Review*

*Floyd C. Shoemaker, Editor*

*Volume XXXVIII*

*Number Four*

*July 1944*



*The Missouri Historical Review is published quarterly. It is sent free to all members of the State Historical Society of Missouri. Membership dues in the Society are \$1.00 a year. All communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.*

*The Society assumes no responsibility for statements made by contributors to the magazine.*

*"Entered as second-class matter at the postoffice at Columbia, Missouri, under Act of Congress, October 3, 1917, Sec. 422."*





# Contents

	<i>Page</i>
ST. LOUIS, HOST OF CELEBRATED NINETEENTH CENTURY BRITISH AND AMERICAN AUTHORS. By <i>Robert R. Hubach</i> .....	375
THE SLAVERY ISSUE AND THE POLITICAL DECLINE OF THOMAS HART BENTON. By <i>Benjamin C. Merkel</i> .....	388
LIFE, LABOR, AND SOCIETY IN BOONE COUNTY, MISSOURI, 1834-1852, AS REVEALED IN THE CORRESPONDENCE OF AN IMMIGRANT SLAVE OWNING FAMILY FROM NORTH CAROLINA. By <i>Lewis E. Atherton</i>	408
MISSOURI AND THE WAR. By <i>Dorothy Dysart Flynn</i> .....	430
MISSOURIANA.....	452
A Warrensburg Family During the Civil War.....	452
Music Under the Stars.....	458
Buy at your Leisure—and Your Risk.....	462
<i>The Official Manual of the State of Missouri</i> .....	465
Missouri Miniatures—George Washington Carver, Henry Shaw..	470
Missouri Scrapbook.....	473
HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS.....	475
Members Active in Increasing Society's Membership.....	475
New Members of the Society, February-April 1944.....	476
State Historical Society Holds Annual Business Meeting.....	477
Mississippi Valley Historical Convention.....	478
Weekly Feature Articles of the Society.....	479
Activities of County Historical Societies.....	480
Acquisitions.....	481
Anniversaries.....	481
Monuments and Memorials.....	484
Notes.....	484
Historical Publications.....	487
Obituaries.....	491
MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS.....	495
And in the Other Corner, Ladies and Gentlemen!.....	495
Sucker, Don't Say You Weren't Warned.....	496
Out of the Mouths of Babes.....	496
Worth His Weight in Gold.....	497
No Color Line.....	497
Buzz-Buzz, I Wonder Why he Does?.....	497
Some People Are So "Catty".....	498
They Need To Be "Rapped Up" And Sent Home.....	498
Some Like it Hot, and Some Like it Cold.....	498

Contents—Continued	Page
"The Objects of their Affection, Changed Their Complexion from White to Rosy Red".....	499
Old "Mother Hubbard" Should Stay in the Cupboard.....	500
A Build-Up For The "Good Neighbor Policy".....	500
A Little "Soft Soap" Will Work Wonders!.....	500
. . . And The Prophet Speaks!.....	501
What a "Handle" to Hang on a Bend!.....	501
Missouri Historical Data in Magazines.....	502

## *Illustrations*

THE PLANTERS' HOUSE. Cover design drawn by <i>William A. Knox</i> from an old print. See "St. Louis, Host of Authors," page.....	375
---	-----

## ST. LOUIS, HOST OF CELEBRATED NINETEENTH CENTURY BRITISH AND AMERICAN AUTHORS

BY ROBERT R. HUBACH<sup>1</sup>

When Pierre Laclede Liguist, a Louisiana Frenchman, chose the site for a small Indian trading post approximately half-way between the mouth and source of the Mississippi river, he believed that the advantages would result in a settlement that might become very considerable thereafter. Established on February 14, 1764, St. Louis developed but slowly at first. By 1810 there were less than two thousand inhabitants and as late as 1825 the population numbered only about five thousand. The town was, however, of considerable importance in the West; long before Chicago and Los Angeles were more than mere villages, St. Louis had become a thriving city. Yet considering its standing St. Louis had a remarkably small share in the publishing activity of the pioneer period. A newspaper was printed in the community as early as 1808, a law book as early as 1808, a book of poetry in 1821, and the first public library of any permanent standing opened in 1824.<sup>2</sup> The major gateway to the great West for settlers and travelers was St. Louis, and like a magnet she drew to her the outstanding literary people living in or visiting the region. Such important early chroniclers as Timothy Flint and James Hall visited and wrote accounts of St. Louis in the 1820s,<sup>3</sup> and minor British and American authors like Henry M. Brackenridge, Charles Sealsfield, John Bradbury, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, James

<sup>1</sup>ROBERT R. HUBACH, a native of Kansas City, Missouri, received an A. B. degree from the University of Kansas City in 1938, an M. A. degree from Colorado university in 1939, and a Ph. D. degree in 1943. After teaching at Indiana university, he is now instructor in English at Illinois university.

<sup>2</sup>Stevens, Walter B., *St. Louis, The Fourth City*, Vol. I, pp. 20-34, 151; Rusk, Ralph L., *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier*, Vol. I, pp. 12n, 21n, 35, 36, 69, 258, 259.

<sup>3</sup>Flint, Timothy, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years Passed in Occasional Residences and Journeyings in the Valley of the Mississippi*, p. 110; Hall, James, *Letters from the West*, p. 197; McDermott, John F., "The Confines of a Wilderness," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXIX, No. 2 (October, 1934), pp. 3-12.

O. Pattie, and Alexander Mackay also visited the city in the early part of the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

It was not until 1832, however, that the major writers journeyed to St. Louis. They had not come earlier primarily because of transportation difficulties and perhaps the scarcity of population in the West; but eventually their curiosity was aroused, and by steamboat, stagecoach, and later, by rail they traveled to the Missouri city. Besides Missouri's native sons, Mark Twain and Eugene Field, no less than twelve distinguished American and British authors, Amos Branson Alcott, Matthew Arnold, William Cullen Bryant, Charles Dickens, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Bret Harte, Washington Irving, Captain Frederick Marryat, Francis Parkman, William Makepeace Thackeray, Walt Whitman, and Oscar Wilde, visited St. Louis during the century. Not the least of the English authors' purposes in coming was to lecture and thereby make the almighty dollar, the pursuit of which they said they despised. The Americans, on the other hand, did not usually have such lucrative designs but traveled primarily to see new lands and visit friends and relatives in the West. They were more interested in the aspects of nature while the English were more intent on studying manners and morals. Generally Easteners had much greater admiration and understanding of the Western scene; the Englishmen, often prejudiced, seemed piqued when their talents were not highly regarded.

Two important American men of letters, William Cullen Bryant and Washington Irving, visited St. Louis in 1832. In "Illinois Fifty Years Ago" Bryant described his steamboat trip down the Ohio and up the Mississippi rivers to visit his brothers at Jacksonville, Illinois. He arrived in St. Louis on June 5 early in the morning and found the city beautifully situated. The inhabitants whom he saw were

<sup>4</sup>Brackenridge, Henry M., *Recollections of Persons and Places in the West*, p. 222ff; Heller, Otto, "Charles Sealsfield, A Forgotten Discoverer of the Valley of the Mississippi," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4 (July, 1927), pp. 382-401; Rusk, *Literature of the Middle Western Frontier*, Vol. I, pp. 94, 95, 99; Williams, Meade C., "Henry R. Schoolcraft," *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. II, No. 2 (April, 1903), pp. 45-57; Nevins, Allan, *American Social History as Recorded by British Travellers*, pp. 285, 286.

mainly of French descent, and the place was astir with talk about Indians having murdered fifteen white people living on the Rock river in Illinois. He departed on the morning of June 6<sup>5</sup> and expressed his admiration for the region in "The Prairies," a noble and American blank-verse poem.

Irving, with James Kirke Paulding, who was also a writer, and three other travelers, decided to attend a meeting of the Indian tribes in Arkansas, and on his way he passed through St. Louis on September 14. Here he found a nephew, Lewis G. Irving, and in his journal recorded visiting a gambling house, listening to French spoken in the streets, and driving to see the recently captured Chief Black Hawk at Jefferson Barracks.<sup>6</sup> This trip must have been part of the basis for an interest in the West which produced such books as *Astoria* and *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*.

An early visitor to St. Louis was Captain Frederick Marryat, the well-known English novelist. As he entered the city in the summer of 1838, he was favorably impressed by its numerous buildings and inhabitants, but, like other visitors, reacted differently to its unhealthful climate. "The lower part of the town is badly drained, and very filthy," he said. "The flies, on a moderate calculation, are in many parts fifty to the square inch." He wondered why the inhabitants had not caught the yellow fever and he was almost unable to sleep at night. Such comments as these, it is seen, helped to make him unpopular in America; yet he found a candlelight beauty in the moonlight on the Mississippi and spoke favorably of the suburbs of the town and of the surrounding prairie. He visited the city museum,<sup>7</sup> and contributed chapters from *The Phantom Ship* to *The Missouri Saturday News* during this year.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup>Godwin, Parke (ed.), *Prose Writings of William Cullen Bryant*, Vol. II, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup>Williams, Stanley T., *The Life of Washington Irving*, Vol. II, pp. 37, 39; Trent, William P. and Hellman, George S., *The Journals of Washington Irving*, Vol. III, pp. 112, 113; Irving, Pierre M., *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving*, Vol. III, pp. 36-38. While in St. Louis, Irving wrote to his sister, Mrs. Catherine Paris, of Independence, Missouri, and commented on the city.

<sup>7</sup>Marryat, Frederick, *A Diary in America, with Remarks on Its Institutions*, p. 125.

<sup>8</sup>Rusk, *Literature of the Middle Western Frontier*, Vol. I, p. 163.

Perhaps the writer most eagerly anticipated and greeted in St. Louis was Charles Dickens, whose early fame had spread even to the margins of the wilderness. Dickens made many enemies in America by his caustic criticisms, especially in *Martin Chuzzlewit* and *American Notes*, and the story of his reception in St. Louis is similar to his experience elsewhere in the United States. The novelist arrived in Boston on January 22, 1842, and upon receiving an invitation from Senator Lewis F. Linn to be guest of honor at a public dinner in St. Louis, sent back a reply on March 16 of the same year, that he could not resist attending.<sup>9</sup> On Sunday, April 10, at 9:00, p. m. he and his wife arrived in the city by the steamboat *Fulton* from Louisville and Cairo and took lodging at the Planters' House, a hostelry which was to entertain other distinguished visitors. Dickens compared the building to an English hospital and was surprised at the excellence of the accommodations. He spent the following day exploring the town, the old French portion, and the buildings, churches, and schools, and saw that it was growing and improving. But he added that the climate was far from salubrious, that the place was extremely hot, lay among great rivers, and had vast tracts of undrained swampy land around it.<sup>10</sup> And the Mississippi he termed an enormous ditch sometimes two or three miles wide, running liquid mud.<sup>11</sup>

On April 11 the St. Louis *Missouri Republican* printed an account of the novelist's arrival and on the following day discussed his activities. The *St. Louis Organ*, after a long, favorable description of his appearance, concluded with the following words: "No one would suspect from inspection that he is the genius his works prove him to be. The world has scarcely furnished an example of a man who has written his way to so widespread a fame as his in so short a time."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup>"Letter from Charles Dickens to Senator Linn," *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. IV, No. 2 (1913), p. 233; Wilkins, William G., *Charles Dickens in America*, p. 215.

<sup>10</sup>Dickens, Charles, *American Notes for General Circulation*, pp. 120-121; Wilkins, *Dickens in America*, pp. 303, 305, 306.

<sup>11</sup>"Charles Dickens Unimpressed by St. Louisans," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4 (July, 1942), p. 475.

<sup>12</sup>Wilkins, *Dickens in America*, pp. 216, 217, 224, 225.

"Boz," as he was called at the time, visited Looking-Glass prairie in Illinois and stayed in a hotel at Lebanon, Illinois, on April 12, returning to the Missouri city by noon the next day and attended a *soirée* in his honor at the Planters' on the evening of April 14. He used the adjectives "rough" and "intolerably conceited" to describe the people who attended this party. Shortly afterwards he began his journey eastward. Sincerity seemed lacking in his criticism of the States; he failed to comprehend the western spirit and unjustly compared America with England. Increasingly homesick, he soon tired of the popular acclaim and lost his tolerance of a "country that hadn't them [i.e. forms, ceremonies and good manners]." <sup>13</sup>

In utter contrast to Dickens is Francis Parkman, the great American historian, who desired to live like a pioneer but who because of poor health could do little more than visit the West and present its story in vivid word pictures. Three times Parkman was in St. Louis. In April 1845, he journeyed to the city to collect material for *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*. <sup>14</sup> A year later, on April 28, 1846, he wrote in *The Oregon Trail*, he began a trip from the same city to Fort Laramie. He described St. Louis in this work as a community of emigrants from every part of the country who were preparing to travel westward. <sup>15</sup> Like Dickens, he stayed at this time at the Planters' House. <sup>16</sup> Years later, in 1867, feeling the need of once more seeing Indians, he visited St. Louis on the way to Fort Snelling and in the former place saw his friend, Henry Chatillon, who had been his guide in the Oregon trail venture. <sup>17</sup> The Missouri city for Parkman thus became the embarkation point to the vast frontier, which all his life intrigued him.

The West meant no more to anyone, however, than it did to Walt Whitman, who saw it as the basis of America's magnificent literary and materialistic future. Whitman stopped briefly at St. Louis in 1848 on his return from New

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 217, 305, 306; "Charles Dickens Unimpressed by St. Louisans," pp. 474, 475, 476.

<sup>14</sup>Farnham, Charles H., *A Life of Francis Parkman*, p. 16.

<sup>15</sup>Parkman, Francis, *The Oregon Trail, Sketches of Prairie and Rocky-Mountain Life*, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup>Wade, Mason, *Francis Parkman, Heroic Historian*, pp. 230-237.

<sup>17</sup>Farnham, *Life of Francis Parkman*, p. 35.

Orleans to Brooklyn and in 1879 stayed there for three months with one of his brothers.<sup>18</sup> The Mississippi river and the wealth and activity of the city, as a previous study has shown, deeply impressed him.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, more often than any other eastern literatus except perhaps Bronson Alcott, toured the West. As early as the 1840s this so-called "lonely wayfaring man" was lecturing west of the Alleghenies and by 1855 had written in his *Journal* that he had crossed the Mississippi three times.<sup>19</sup> For twenty years he withstood the rigors of winter, flood, and inadequate travel facilities in order to spread the wisdom of the Concord Brahmins to the outposts of the wilderness. His earliest visit to St. Louis was by steamboat in 1850. To his wife he wrote from the Planters' House on June 16 that he was then at "the Metropolis of the West . . . the starting point for Santa Fe & California."<sup>20</sup> In his western journal he discussed the Missouri and Mississippi rivers and mentioned steamboat conflagrations at St. Louis.<sup>21</sup> Three days were the extent of his visit at this time.<sup>22</sup>

It appears that in the summer of 1851 and that again in 1852 the St. Louis mercantile library association, an organization which sponsored cultural events, invited Emerson to lecture in the city and offered five hundred dollars during the latter year for a series of six addresses.<sup>23</sup> Although uncertain at first, he eventually accepted the second invitation and in letters to friends mentioned his plans to visit the community.<sup>24</sup> Traveling by steamboat from Cincinnati,<sup>25</sup>

<sup>18</sup>Hubach, Robert R., "Walt Whitman Visits St. Louis, 1879," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 4 (July, 1943), pp. 386; Hubach, "Three Uncollected St. Louis Interviews of Walt Whitman," *American Literature*, Vol. XIV, No. 2 (May, 1942), pp. 141-147; Marchand, Ernest, "Emerson and the Frontier," *American Literature*, Vol. III, No. 2, (May, 1931) pp. 149-174.

<sup>19</sup>Carpenter, Frederic I., *Ralph Waldo Emerson*, pp. xv, xvi.

<sup>20</sup>Rusk, Ralph L. (ed.), *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Vol. IV, pp. 209, 214. Emerson described the trip in a letter to Thomas Carlyle; see *The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1834-1872*, Vol. II, pp. 230, 231.

<sup>21</sup>Hastings, Louise (ed.), *Emerson's Journal at the West, 1850-1853* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Indiana university), pp. 10, 11.

<sup>22</sup>Rusk, *Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Vol. IV, p. 216.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 252, 308, 314.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 315, 323-324, 327, 328, 332, 333.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 332, 333.



he took lodgings at the Planters' House and, according to the *Missouri Republican*, began his lectures at Wyman's hall with "Power" on December 27 and continued with "Wealth" on the twenty-eighth, "The Anglo-Saxon" on the thirtieth, "Economy" on January 3, 1853, "Fate" on the fourth, "Culture" on the sixth, and "Worship" on the seventh.<sup>26</sup> He wrote to his wife of the railroads which were pushing ever westward and excused the lack of culture among the inhabitants because of the necessary emphasis in a new community upon materialistic enterprise.<sup>27</sup>

In his journal he jotted down the factual statistics of the city and commented enthusiastically upon the Mississippi.<sup>28</sup> People whom he met here were Mr. Charles D. Morris, an Englishman, John T. Douglas, a manufacturer, and a Mr. and Mrs. Dean.<sup>29</sup> He left St. Louis on January 8, 1853,<sup>30</sup> and the following month the *St. Louis Miscellany and Review* published an appreciation of his lectures.<sup>31</sup>

An interval of several years elapsed before Emerson again saw "the Athens of the West," as proud St. Louisans called it. William Torrey Harris, philosophy student and educator, came to the city in 1857, and in 1859 with Henry C. Brokmeyer and others, established the St. Louis philosophical movement. This organization, though similar to several others in the country during this period, was a significant one. After long study of Hegel's *Larger Logic*, translated by Brokmeyer, the group began the publication of *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, affording a vehicle for the expression of their unmaterialistic ideas.<sup>32</sup> Harris' fame spread; Emerson heard of him, wrote to him, greeted the *Journal*, was visited by him in July 1865, and speaking again

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 336, 337; *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), December 27, 1852.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 337, 338, 339.

<sup>28</sup>Hastings, *Emerson's Journal at the West, 1850-1853*, pp. 20, 21.

<sup>29</sup>Rusk, *Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Vol. IV, p. 381; Hastings, *Emerson's Journal at the West, 1850-1853*, pp. 20, 21.

<sup>30</sup>Rusk, *Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Vol. IV, pp. 340, 341.

<sup>31</sup>Hastings, *Emerson's Journal at the West, 1850-1853*, pp. xxxi, xxxii.

<sup>32</sup>Schaub, Edward L., *William Torrey Harris, 1835-1935*, p. 19; Harris, D. H. (ed.), *A Brief Report of the Meeting Commemorative of the Early Saint Louis Movement in Philosophy, Psychology, Literature, Art, and Education*, p. 51.

in St. Louis in March, 1867, saw him again.<sup>33</sup> Returning from a lecture tour further west, he chose "American Culture" for his topic on the night of March 6; and the *Missouri Democrat* published a laudatory notice previous to the event.<sup>34</sup> A second visit was made the following December when the essayist lectured on "Success" to an audience assembled at Philharmonic hall under the auspices of the public school library.<sup>35</sup> The *Missouri Democrat* reported that auditors were spell-bound, and the *Missouri Republican* printed a detailed synopsis of the talk.<sup>36</sup> Writing to his brother Edward from the Southern hotel shortly before he left, Emerson spoke of St. Louis as a "noble town as seen in the approach—from the Illinois side, and it has a superb house for travellers, this Southern. And it has singular & surprising lights in this little Philosophical Society of Mr Harris & his men."<sup>37</sup> Although polished and cultured, he was not dismayed by the crudities of the rugged West but realized its importance and attractiveness. Not until 1871 did he take his farewell of the region.<sup>38</sup>

Among the Missouri writers who have achieved national recognition is Eugene Field, the poet and journalist, who was born in St. Louis on September 3, 1850, and who spent his earliest childhood there.<sup>39</sup> At six he was taken to Massachusetts and reared by a cousin, but in 1870 he returned to Missouri to enter the state university. Later he obtained a position in St. Louis on the *Evening Journal* and after his marriage, also on the *St. Louis Times-Journal*.<sup>40</sup> Although his writing does not today seem original, his interest in the

<sup>33</sup>Rusk, *Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Vol. I, p. lviii; Vol. V, pp. 421, 422, 458, 508, 509, 513, 514.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 500n; *Missouri Democrat* (St. Louis), March 6, 1867.

<sup>35</sup>Rusk, *Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Vol. V, p. 545; *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), December 17, 1867.

<sup>36</sup>*Missouri Democrat*, December 17, 1867; *Missouri Republican*, December 17, 1867.

<sup>37</sup>Rusk, *Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Vol. V, p. 545.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 158; Emerson, E. W. and Forbes, Waldo Emerson (eds.), *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Vol. X, pp. 351-355.

<sup>39</sup>Dennis, Charles H., *Eugene Field's Creative Years*, p. 13.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 10, 11, 23, 24; DeMenil, Alexander N., "A Century of Missouri Literature," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XV, No. 1 (October, 1920), p. 107.

West is reflected in his newspaper contributions and in such a book as *A Little Book of Western Verse*.

Another native Missourian, Samuel L. Clemens, commonly known as Mark Twain, is one of America's major writers and is more often associated with the West in the average person's mind than is any other celebrated author. On numerous occasions over a period of almost half a century Twain was in St. Louis. When only eighteen years old, he visited his sister Pamela in the city and obtained a position in the composing room of the *St. Louis Evening News*.<sup>41</sup> After visiting New York, he stopped only briefly at his sister's in the late summer of 1854, but in order to replenish his depleted funds, he resumed his work on the same paper until early in 1855.<sup>42</sup> In April, 1857, he borrowed money from his sister's husband to pay for a course in steamship navigation and often visited at her home afterwards.<sup>43</sup>

In 1867, several years later, learning that *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County* had been accepted for publication, Twain hurried to St. Louis from California, saw his mother and sister briefly, journeyed to Hannibal and Keokuk, and came back to St. Louis for a longer visit.<sup>44</sup> He was awarded sudden fame upon the appearance of his books; he journeyed to Europe and later, although establishing himself in the East upon his return, revisited his old haunts in St. Louis and other cities.<sup>45</sup> In 1882 he embarked from St. Louis for a trip down the Mississippi<sup>46</sup> and in the spring of 1902 he helped dedicate the World's fair grounds in the same city, visiting the Planters' House and meeting his former navigation instructor, Horace Bixby.<sup>47</sup> St. Louis and the Mississippi contributed the pen name of Colonel Sellers for Twain's own use and played a part in

---

<sup>41</sup>Palne, Albert Bigelow, *Mark Twain, A Biography, The Personal and Literary Life of Samuel Langhorne Clemens*, Vol. I, p. 94; Brashear, Minnie M., *Mark Twain, Son of Missouri*, p. 152.

<sup>42</sup>Palne, *Mark Twain, A Biography*, Vol. I, pp. 102, 103.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 308, 309.

<sup>45</sup>DeMenil, "Century of Missouri Literature," p. 96.

<sup>46</sup>Palne, *Mark Twain, A Biography*, Vol. II, p. 735.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 1166, 1167, 1173.

the background of many of his works.<sup>48</sup> If Clemens was a child of the West, he was also a child of St. Louis.

Between 1853 and 1882 Amos Bronson Alcott, New England transcendentalist, teacher, lecturer, and author, made ten conversational tours of the Midwest. Yet, unlike Whitman and Emerson, he was slow in appreciating this region and, indeed, at first was almost antagonistic to it. His initial visit to St. Louis was unpleasant. At the end of his first day in the city he wrote that he had little in common with the life of the West, that he seemed older than its wilderness.<sup>49</sup> At the suggestion of William T. Harris he had journeyed there to read sections from his "Orphic Sayings" to a group of philosophers and business men, but these people knew their Hegel much better than he did; they questioned the vague terms he used, and he could not always defend himself. In fact, his health was seriously shaken by the difficult winter in the West, and this, along with the Civil war, postponed further frontier travels until later.<sup>50</sup>

In 1866, however, Alcott again started forth for St. Louis. But his attitude this year had changed: he realized that Lincoln had sprung from simple prairie origins and perhaps he had read Whitman's lines expressive of faith in the totality of America.<sup>51</sup> In any event, his second visit to St. Louis, which lasted for four weeks, was much more successful than the first one. The philosophical movement had been formed by this time, and Alcott met many members of the group; Brokmeyer, Harris, Watters, Kroeger, Howison, and Denton J. Snider were deep logical thinkers whose influence doubtless benefited him and plunged him partially into deeper Hegelian study than the Concord philosophers had ever deemed necessary, but more important gave him a truer sympathy with the West.<sup>52</sup> As the years passed, he built up new and lasting friendships here in the Midwest,

---

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 149.

<sup>49</sup>Shepard, Odell, *Padlar's Progress: the Life of Bronson Alcott*, pp. 474, 485.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 472, 475-477.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 478, 480.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 480, 482.

so that his is the case of an easterner's true conversion to the ways of the newer America, an ambassador from the old to the new.<sup>53</sup>

Englishmen who came to the United States usually visited St. Louis no more than once, however, and had little opportunity to form a just opinion. Journeying from New Orleans during his second tour of the United States, William Makepeace Thackeray stopped at the city late in March, 1856, and was heralded by a notice in the February issue of the *St. Louis Miscellany and Review*.<sup>54</sup> He stayed at the Planters' House and on March 26 and 27 lectured at the Mercantile library hall to large audiences on the subjects of George III and George IV. At the time he was seen by Captain Bonneville, the Western explorer, by Pierre Chouteau, by U. S. Grant, and possibly by Lincoln.<sup>55</sup> When he returned to New York, he told a humorous incident of a servant at the Planters', who, on being informed that the great Thackeray was present, asked, "What's he done?"<sup>56</sup>

After Thackeray came Bret Harte, who toured the eastern states and lectured in St. Louis on October 18, 1873. He told his wife that an editorial in the *Republican* of October 19 adversely criticized him for what he by no means intended to be—a handsome fop—and called him a poor orator.<sup>57</sup> Since Harte was a man of the Far West and knew the frontier well, St. Louis was not the novelty which it was to the eastern and British writers.

The apostle of aestheticism, Oscar Wilde, invaded the city in late February, 1882, and was greeted by crowds of people at the railroad station, but he had bought a heavy fur coat and a black slouch hat because of the rigors of the Western winter and presented an almost unrecognizable appearance.<sup>58</sup> After Wilde arrived at the new Southern hotel, a would-be *Globe-Democrat* interviewer tried to question him, but the author, instead, deterred him from his purpose

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 486, 487.

<sup>54</sup>Hastings, *Emerson's Journal at the West, 1850-1853*, p. xxxiii.

<sup>55</sup>Wilson, James Grant, *Thackeray in the United States*, Vol. I, pp. 304-306.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 306, 307.

<sup>57</sup>Pemberton, T. Edgar, *The Life of Bret Harte*, pp. 138, 139.

<sup>58</sup>Lewis, Lloyd, and Smith, Henry Justin, *Oscar Wilde Discovers America, [1882]*, p. 204.

by asking him about the nationalities, art organizations, architecture, and boulevards of the city.<sup>60</sup> The *Post-Dispatch* wrote that Wilde looked feminine because of his hair, had almond eyes and bad teeth, but seemed to be a stout, well-fed, active young Englishman. The newsman for this paper was surprised to find the aesthete ordering a hearty meal instead of "a red-bird and white of egg beaten to a froth." Interested in American life, Wilde had recently finished reading William Dean Howells' novels. His traveling had greatly impressed him and he expatiated on the magnitude of the United States. "We [in England] do not understand that large cities . . . are located in the heart of the country."<sup>60</sup> A *Republican* reporter questioned him concerning writers and books and wrote a complimentary article about him.<sup>61</sup> Later in the day, Wilde visited the Wayman Crow art museum and went so far as to call it one of the best he had seen.<sup>62</sup>

On Saturday evening, February 25, Wilde received what he called the worst treatment in America when he lectured at the Mercantile library hall. He spoke on the aesthetic movement, and when he made a sarcastic reference to the "beautiful" streets of St. Louis, he drew half-hearted applause and laughter, combined with stamping and whistling from the "tough boys" in the back row. This continued throughout the evening, so at the end of the lecture Wilde quit the platform abruptly and declared that such treatment was "villainous." He regained enough of his good nature, however, to speak smilingly and wittingly at a reception in his honor at the Press club and at another gathering at the Elks social club. He saw Shaw's garden and an art collection and studio on the succeeding day, and, strangely enough, was entertained by fire company number fifteen. He departed for Springfield, Illinois, by the seven-thirty Monday morning train and later sardonically remarked: "Several

---

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 203, 204.

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 204, 205.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 205.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 207.

St. Louis citizens told me the city was not at its best. I should have thought so, even though the information was lacking."<sup>63</sup>

The last author of distinction to visit St. Louis during the century was Matthew Arnold, the defender of culture, who arrived in the city on January 29, 1884, and who on January 30 lectured, like Wilde, at the Mercantile library hall.<sup>64</sup> According to the *Globe-Democrat* of the same day, he and his wife had registered at the Southern. This paper reported that Arnold's subject was "Numbers," described him minutely, and printed a detailed synopsis of his address.<sup>65</sup> To his daughter he explained that from only two to three hundred and fifty people attended the event and said that he was beginning to recognize the truth of what one American had said, that "Denver was not ripe for Mr. Arnold." St. Louis did interest him, however, even though he noted its undesirable aspects. He dined with General Sherman on February 1 and left for Indianapolis probably a day or two later.<sup>66</sup>

The effort which the early citizens of St. Louis made in bringing the best in literary culture to their community is remarkable and probably engendered a greater interest in worthwhile literature in the whole population of the city than otherwise would have developed. The first capital of the western world of letters, with her newspapers, lecture halls, and cultural clubs, threw wide her gates to eastern Americans and Britishers alike, but realized that, if properly nurtured, from her own soil would spring a literature peculiarly indigenous, yet deep-rooted in the glories of the past. Parkman, Whitman, Emerson, Alcott, and others not only visited St. Louis but also helped form a basis upon which future writers of the region could build. When they made a plea for a native western contribution to the arts, St. Louis authors after their time did not fail to heed it and, with people of neighboring states, created a distinct western school of writing.

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 208-210; *St. Louis Republican*, February 28, 1882.

<sup>64</sup>Russell, George W. E. (ed.), *Letters of Matthew Arnold*, Vol. III, p. 180.

<sup>65</sup>*St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, January 31, 1884.

<sup>66</sup>Russell, *Letters of Matthew Arnold*, Vol. III, pp. 179, 180.



## THE SLAVERY ISSUE AND THE POLITICAL DECLINE OF THOMAS HART BENTON, 1846-1856

BY BENJAMIN C. MERKEL<sup>1</sup>

The slavery issue was more intimately associated with the political decline of Thomas Hart Benton than history has recorded. The position of the great statesman upon the bondage question is comprehensible after a close consideration of his public acts over the long course of his political career. However, his attitude towards slavery during the five years following 1846 was of crucial importance to his political fortunes. After 1851, Benton was engaged for another half decade in his final losing struggle to maintain his grip upon the Missouri electorate. At the close of this period, he disappeared forever from the realm of public affairs.

In the early years, Benton was decidedly proslavery, with an inclination to temporize upon the issue, but after 1840 he took a firm position against the extension of negro servitude into the territories. The temporary cessation of the controversy over slavery immediately after the adoption of Missouri's first constitution may be attributed in part to the wording of that document so that it discouraged any discussion of the question; for this arrangement Benton assumed responsibility.<sup>2</sup> Fifteen years later he was still governed by the policy of "letting sleeping dogs lie." In Congress on January 7, 1836, Benton spoke of the abolitionists as "incendiaries" and "agitators."<sup>3</sup> In the same speech he declared in the senate that the reception or the rejection of abolitionist petitions was a question of expediency; members of Congress should so vote that the public mind would be quieted.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>BENJAMIN C. MERKEL, a native of St. Clair county, Illinois, is principal of the high school at Crystal City, Missouri. He received a B. Ed. degree from the Southern Illinois State Normal university in 1928, an M. A. degree from Washington university in 1932, and a Ph. D. from the same institution in 1939.

<sup>2</sup>Benton, Thomas H., *Thirty Years' View*, Vol. I, pp. 8-9. Benton made this claim even though he was not a delegate to the constitutional convention.

<sup>3</sup>*Register of Debates*, 24th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 85, 87.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 88.



By 1844, Benton's position on the slavery issue had changed. In that year Missouri's representatives in Congress were confronted with the proposal for the annexation of Texas, which was regarded in the North as simply an excuse for the extension of slave territory. In the ensuing controversy, Benton became deeply involved. On July 17 and 18, 1844, he delivered at Boonville two speeches upon the Texas question. He stated that the object of the proposed annexation was to initiate an issue with Great Britain and with the nonslaveholding states. In South Carolina the cry of "Texas or disunion" had been raised. Benton had seen this disunion scheme in 1842 and in 1843; at the late session of Congress he had denounced it upon the senate floor. To bring the disunion plan to a head, a Texas convention was arranged to meet at Nashville, Tennessee. But the proposed gathering failed to materialize because the Whigs and the Democrats of Nashville had held a meeting on July 6, 1844, and they had passed a resolution against holding such a convention in Tennessee.<sup>5</sup> At Hannibal on October 1, Benton delivered an address in which he spoke in favor of the annexation of Texas but only if it were accomplished in accordance with the terms of his own bill, which provided for the equal division of Texas between the slave and the free states.<sup>6</sup> It is significant that at this early date, Benton was hurling the cry of "disunion" at his enemies.

The great issue that arrayed the forces of freedom and of slavery against each other in the nation and in Missouri was the Wilmot Proviso. In 1846 and in 1847 the proviso was much discussed in Congress.<sup>7</sup> The Wilmot proposal, which was an attempt to restrict slavery, precipitated a fierce discussion in Missouri between the proslavery majority opposing restriction and the rising antislavery faction, which naturally favored any attempt to limit the system. The controversy finally resolved itself into the specific question of whether Congress had the power to legislate upon

<sup>5</sup>*Daily Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), July 30, 1844.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, October 5, 1844.

<sup>7</sup>Channing, Edward A., *A History of the United States*, Vol. V, p. 562; McMaisters, John B., *A History of the People of the United States, From the Revolution to the Civil War*, Vol. VII, pp. 450-451, 480, 483.

slavery in the territories; the men who believed that it did were called Free-Soilers. Out of this issue was to arise serious trouble for Benton.

How the Missouri legislature wished the state's representatives in Congress to stand upon the question of slavery in the territories was clear from the action which it took in 1847. On February 2, Senator Jones of Newton county introduced joint resolutions,<sup>8</sup> which were finally approved by the assembly on February 15.<sup>9</sup> They asserted "that the peace, permanency, and welfare of our national Union depend upon a strict adherence to the letter and spirit" of the eighth section of the Missouri compromise. The Missouri senators were instructed and the representatives requested to vote in accordance with the meaning of this section of the compromise on all questions involving the organization of new territories or states.<sup>10</sup>

A few days later a situation arose in Congress that gave Benton an opportunity to reveal his attitude. On February 19, 1847, John C. Calhoun, after remarking that only in the senate was the South equal in power to the North, introduced four resolutions. These proposals asserted that the territories were to be held as the common property of the United States, and that Congress had no right to pass legislation which would be detrimental to the privileges of citizens of any state to emigrate there with property. The resolutions stated also that the people of a territory in forming a state constitution were sovereign in their right to do as they saw fit. According to the constitution of the United States, Congress could impose no condition except that the government of a prospective state had to be republican in form.<sup>11</sup> Senator Benton immediately termed the resolutions "fire-brands." Calhoun said that he had expected Benton's support, to which the latter retorted: "I shall be found in the right place. I am on the side of my country and the Union."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup>Missouri, *Senate Journal*, 14th G. A., 1st Sess., 1846-1847, p. 346.

<sup>9</sup>*Laws of the State of Missouri*, 14th G. A., 1st Sess., 1846-1847, pp. 367-368.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup>*Congressional Globe*, 29th Cong., 2nd Sess., pp. 453-454.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 455. Benton never uttered nobler words.

In 1847, Benton apparently considered the slavery issue important to his political future. He visited Missouri, speaking at the St. Louis courthouse on May 13. Benton objected to Calhoun's resolutions for they would test the political regularity of all presidential candidates, create a new sectional party in the South, and threaten the Union. He did not favor the application of Calhoun's proposals to the Oregon bill for the latter measure had delayed the creation of a government in Oregon.<sup>13</sup> On May 29, in a speech at Jefferson City, Benton stated that a new slavery controversy had arisen. Missouri, he thought, would not be led by proslavery resolutions, which he called "firebrands."<sup>14</sup> He had reason to be optimistic for on January 8, 1847, a Democratic convention held in the hall of the house of representatives at Jefferson City had passed resolutions recommending him for the presidency.<sup>15</sup> At least one newspaper, the *Missouri Democrat*, placed his name at the head of its columns as the approved presidential candidate.<sup>16</sup> It is obvious that before the close of 1847 the issue of slavery in the territories had found its way into Missouri politics. The importance of the affair to Benton is clear after an analysis of events in 1849.

Meanwhile, the State was caught in the throes of a slavery agitation centering around the principles of the Wilmot Proviso and the Free-Soil movement of 1848.<sup>17</sup> In the Democratic party a schism occurred which made possible the Free-Soil attempt led by Francis P. Blair, Jr. With this movement Benton had little to do but he was held responsible for it by a faction opposed to him. During the latter part of 1848 Benton's enemies in Missouri determined to avenge themselves upon him for they were dissatisfied with his attitude during the campaign of that year. He had remained out of the State but his opponents believed that he had covertly assisted in the Free-Soil or Barnburner

<sup>13</sup>*St. Louis Daily New Era*, May 14, 1847; *Daily Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), May 14, 1847.

<sup>14</sup>*Daily Missouri Republican*, June 5, 1847.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, January 18, 1847.

<sup>16</sup>*Missouri Democrat* (Fayette), December 27, 1847.

<sup>17</sup>Merkel, Benjamin C., *The Antislavery Controversy in Missouri, 1819-1865* (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Washington university), pp. 24-27.

movement which had made progress in Missouri during the year.<sup>18</sup> Then, too, he had opposed the admission of Oregon upon terms that would permit slavery there.<sup>19</sup> On April 1, 1848, a large Chicago meeting thanked the veteran statesman for his "noble letter in favor of prohibiting slavery in Oregon."<sup>20</sup> In addition, Senator Atchison was unfriendly to him. If Atchison were again elected to the senate, an effort would be made to so instruct the Missouri senators upon the Wilmot Proviso that Benton and his action on the Oregon organization bill would come into direct conflict with the majority of his party in the state legislature. Governor King was reported to have no interest in thwarting any plan that would put down the dominating influence of Benton.<sup>21</sup>

On March 6, 1849, the Missouri assembly passed the Jackson resolutions.<sup>22</sup> Claiborne F. Jackson of Howard county, a member of the committee on federal relations, reported the proposals that bear his name.<sup>23</sup> According to Benton, these resolves were the work of William B. Napton. The former claimed that on a certain Sunday morning in January, 1849, about a dozen men, including Jackson and Napton, met in a small room adjoining that occupied by the supreme court in the state capitol. Many resolutions were submitted. Judge Napton after digesting them combined the various ideas into one document.<sup>24</sup> These proposals, which were extremely proslavery, denied the right of Congress to legislate upon slavery in the states or in the territories, affirmed the privilege of Southerners to take their property into any of the territories, and agreed to the application of the Missouri Compromise to recent territorial acquisitions on condition that fanaticism in connection with slavery be extinguished. The power to prohibit human bondage in a

<sup>18</sup>*Diary of William B. Napton.* (In the library of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis), p. 86.

<sup>19</sup>*Congressional Globe*, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 1078; Appendix, pp. 685-686.

<sup>20</sup>*Daily Missouri Republican*, April 13, 1848.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, December 14, 1848.

<sup>22</sup>*Missouri, Senate Journal*, 15th G. A., 1st Sess., 1848-1849, pp. 64-66; *Missouri, House Journal*, 15th G. A., 1st Sess., 1848-1849, p. 483.

<sup>23</sup>Switzler, William F., *Switzler's Illustrated History of Missouri*, p. 265.

<sup>24</sup>*Daily Missouri Republican*, May 18, 1852. Benton made this statement in his Jackson speech of May 15, 1852.

territory rested with the people thereof. The Missouri senators were instructed to act in conformity with these principles. The fifth resolution, around which subsequent controversy hinged, read: "That in the event of the passage of any act of Congress conflicting with the principles herein expressed, Missouri will be found in hearty cooperation with the slaveholding States, in such measures as may be deemed necessary for our mutual protection against the encroachments of Northern fanaticism."<sup>25</sup> How these resolutions formed the basis of an issue that lasted for years between the proslavery and the antislavery factions in Missouri becomes apparent after a close examination of subsequent events.

In the meantime Francis P. Blair, Jr., wrote a series of articles signed "A Radical," which were published in a St. Louis newspaper.<sup>26</sup> He lauded Benton as "a wise and enlightened statesman" who was "in the front ranks of progressive democracy,"<sup>27</sup> which, he asserted, was opposed to the extension of slavery into the territories. He added that in the event Congress passed the Wilmot Proviso, Calhoun would call a convention looking towards the dissolution of the Union. Blair predicted that the State would be placed upon the Calhoun platform.<sup>28</sup>

The attitude towards slavery of some of Senator Benton's supporters is apparent from certain events in 1849. In the spring of that year there appeared in the *Missouri Republican* an antislavery document signed by thirty-eight Democrats entitled: "Address to the Democracy of Missouri." Among those appending their names were Francis P. Blair, Jr., Montgomery Blair, O. D. Filley, G. F. Filley, F. A. Dick, H. H. Haight, and William McKee, all of whom were later prominent in Missouri's antislavery movement. These men approved of the Wilmot Proviso and opposed slavery. They stated that those most persistently denouncing the proviso were old enemies of Benton.<sup>29</sup> On March 17 a large Demo-

<sup>25</sup>*Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., No. 24, p. 2.

<sup>26</sup>*Daily Missouri Republican*, January 13, 18, 24, 28, 1849.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, January 13, 1849.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, January 18, 1849.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, April 1, 1849.

cratic meeting was held at the St. Louis courthouse. Mr. Meyer, who voiced the opinion of the Germans, said that they were for gradual emancipation not only in Missouri but throughout the world. The gathering condemned the Jackson resolutions, affirmed the power of Congress over the territories, opposed disunion, and expressed confidence in Benton.<sup>30</sup>

The Jackson resolutions aroused the ire of Benton. On May 26, 1849, he delivered at the capitol in Jefferson City an important address generally spoken of as his "Appeal." He asserted that the resolutions were the same as Calhoun's of February 19, 1847, which he had criticised at the time as "firebrands." He also maintained that the Jackson proposals contained nullification and disunion, particularly the fifth, and that they conflicted with the resolutions passed by the legislature on February 15, 1847.<sup>31</sup> This address began a campaign in which Benton appealed to the people against the "nullifiers," as he chose to call the sponsors of the Jackson measures.<sup>32</sup> During the next two years the Democratic party in the State was divided into the Benton and anti-Benton factions. The antislavery people and those potentially of that hue were in the former group.

At this time, the friendly *St. Louis Daily New Era* reviewed the history of Benton's policy towards slavery. In 1829 he had chosen the *St. Louis Beacon* as the medium in which to express his proslavery views. He favored the purchase of Texas in order that several more slave states might be admitted to the Union. These articles in Benton's paper had much influence upon the southern states in securing Texas. But Benton had changed his views upon slavery and he had adopted the principles of the Wilmot Proviso.<sup>33</sup> After a careful survey of the Missouri press, the journal claimed that Benton now headed the opposition to the extension of slave territory, to the disunion principles of Cal-

<sup>30</sup>*St. Louis Daily New Era*, March 19, 1849.

<sup>31</sup>*Jefferson Inquirer* (Jefferson City), May 26, 1849.

<sup>32</sup>*St. Louis Daily New Era*, May 29, 1849.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, June 22, 1849.

houn, and to the Jackson resolutions.<sup>34</sup> The *Missouri Republican* stated that the Democracy of the state, indignant because of the Free-Soil address in the spring of 1849 which had asserted that Benton was with them, expected that the latter upon his return to Missouri would disavow the Barnburners. But, in an insulting manner, he had refused to answer his supporters who asked how he would vote upon the Wilmot Proviso.<sup>35</sup>

Benton's move in appealing to the Missouri electorate against the Jackson resolutions prompted a reply from John C. Calhoun in the form of an "Address." The latter stated that he usually ignored Benton. He had never thought of elevating the Missourian to the level of a competitor, and he would not answer him now if it were not for the fact that Benton had attacked the southern people. Calhoun denied that he was the real author of the Missouri Compromise and the Wilmot Proviso as Benton had claimed. He said that the latter approved of the proviso, and that Benton and General Houston were the only two southern senators who voted for the bill establishing the territory of Oregon, which contained the principle of the Wilmot Proviso. Calhoun claimed that Benton's position on slavery in the territories was like that of the abolitionists.<sup>36</sup>

Benton was fast incurring the displeasure of proslavery Missourians. The *Hannibal North-East Reporter* named a group of St. Louisans and Benton as trying to force the people to join the Free-Soilers and to abandon the political teachings of Jefferson, Madison, and Jackson in order to follow the free-negro heresies of Van Buren, Giddings, and Hale.<sup>37</sup> A man from St. Joseph, writing to Salmon P. Chase, spoke of the fierce campaign against Benton. He feared that the legislature would drop the senator. Nine out of twenty-two Democratic newspapers in Missouri were against

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, August 3, 1849.

<sup>35</sup>*Daily Missouri Republican*, December 28, 1849.

<sup>36</sup>*Address of John C. Calhoun to the People of the Southern States*, June 5, 1849, pp. 1-18.

<sup>37</sup>*Daily Missouri Republican*, December 15, 1849.



Benton, calling him a Barnburner, an abolitionist, a Free-Soiler, and other names.<sup>38</sup>

About this time an event occurred in Congress that illustrates clearly the divergent opinions of the two factions of the Missouri Democrats and also the Benton position. On January 8, 1850, Atchison presented to the United States senate the Missouri or Jackson resolutions, and asked that they be read and printed.<sup>39</sup> Senator Benton immediately obtained the floor and asserted that the proposals did not represent the true sentiments of the people of Missouri. Furthermore, he asserted, they would result in the weakening of the Union and a reversion to the league form of government which had existed under the articles of confederation. The Missouri general assembly had not only mistaken the feeling of the people but "they mistook their own powers in doing so." The resolutions were repudiated by the governor who had signed them and by many of the legislature who had previously approved them.<sup>40</sup> In reply to Benton, Atchison declared that when the time came the people of Missouri would prove that the sentiments contained in the resolutions were sustained by them.<sup>41</sup>

In the election of 1850 in Missouri the question at issue invariably was Union or disunion. According to the *Jefferson Inquirer*, a newspaper capable of making a true judgment, the voters were divided into three groups: the Democrats, the Whigs, and the disunionists. The last named faction, generally spoken of as the anti-Benton party, would attach itself to the Democrats, for the Whigs supported the Constitution.<sup>42</sup> An effort was made to bring the two wings of the Democracy together, but Benton's letter from Washington on March 8, 1850, discouraged that movement: "Let us have a clean ticket, a clean democratic ticket—no taint

---

<sup>38</sup>Ray, P. O., "The Retirement of Thomas H. Benton from the Senate and Its Significance," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. II, No. 2 (January, 1908), pp. 100-102.

<sup>39</sup>*Congressional Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., p. 97.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup>*Jefferson Inquirer*, March 9, 1850.



of Calhounism, i. e., secession, disunion, nullification, in it . . . The disunionists count upon Missouri. They believe they have the State."<sup>43</sup>

About one hundred of Benton's St. Louis friends called a meeting in March, 1850, to decide whether the question of the Union versus disunion should enter into the approaching city election campaign. At the gathering on March 7, Francis P. Blair, Jr., vigorously contended that the issue should be made. He attacked the Jackson resolutions, stating that the majority of the committee on federal relations in the legislature, to which the proposals had been referred, sanctioned the policy of the Missouri compromise. Blair disclosed also that the majority report was refused a place in the *Journal* of the house and was not printed, whereas the conclusions of the minority, approving of disunion, were printed and distributed throughout the State.<sup>44</sup> The resolutions of this March meeting in addition to denouncing the Jackson proposals minimized the practical effect of the Wilmot Proviso, praised Benton for his arraignment of "these desperate conspirators," meaning the disunionists, and recommended that no one be nominated for an office who did not favor the reelection of Benton to the senate.<sup>45</sup>

The campaign of 1850 resulted in strong opposition to Benton within the Democratic party and in a great deal of bitterness. In almost every county except St. Louis the leading politicians opposed Benton.<sup>46</sup> Upon one occasion he referred to his opponents as a "gang of scamps."<sup>47</sup> In a letter written on March 22 to James Lusk of the *Jefferson Inquirer*, Benton stated that every Calhounite in the State repeated the "fundamental lie of abolitionism and free-soilism" against him.<sup>48</sup>

The election of August 5, according to the semi-official returns compiled by the Jefferson City *Metropolitan*, resulted in victories for each of the three parties, but in general

<sup>43</sup>*St. Louis Daily Union*, March 29, 1850.

<sup>44</sup>*St. Louis Daily New Era*, March 9, 1850.

<sup>45</sup>*Daily Missouri Republican*, March 8, 1850.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*, July 8, 1850.

<sup>47</sup>*St. Louis Daily New Era*, April 3, 1850.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, April 10, 1850.

the Whigs were triumphant.<sup>49</sup> A report on the next legislature indicated that on a joint ballot of both house and senate, there were 65 Whigs, 54 Benton free-soilers, and 42 anti-Benton Democrats. The senate would have 12 Whig members, 13 Benton supporters, and 8 anti-Benton men.<sup>50</sup> In a post-election statement Benton said that the portion of the Democracy which was for nullification and disunion constituted a "miserable minority" in every county; but faction had crept into the party and by caucuses and frauds had become conspicuous. He blamed this group for giving the State to the Whigs after having tried to hand it to the southern confederacy. He claimed also that the election had condemned the Jackson resolutions, and that the nullifiers would do no more harm.<sup>51</sup>

In 1851 the state assembly took up the problem of electing a United States senator. Finally, on January 22, after fruitless efforts to compromise, it chose Henry S. Geyer, a Whig. Both wings of the Democracy preferred to aid the Whigs rather than to assist each other. Geyer received 80 votes and Benton, his nearest rival, obtained 55. Thus was terminated the senatorial career of the illustrious statesman.<sup>52</sup>

The next year a very complicated political struggle occurred in the State, involving the Democrats, the Whigs, the Free-Soilers, and the proslavery group. The speakership of the house of representatives was the goal of all parties.<sup>53</sup> A great deal of political maneuvering occurred with each side constantly referring to the Jackson resolutions, southern secession, and the compromise measures passed by Congress in 1850. At times slavery as a political issue became involved. Even though an actual antislavery movement was not present, the Benton faction was unfriendly to human bondage.

Benton, although defeated as a candidate for the senate, was still very important in Missouri politics. On January 1,

<sup>49</sup>*Missouri Statesman* (Columbia), August 20, 1850.

<sup>50</sup>*Daily Missouri Republican*, August 29, 1850.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, September 18, 1850.

<sup>52</sup>Switzler, *Switzler's Illustrated History of Missouri*, p. 273.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 275.

1852, while aboard an Ohio river steamer, he dispatched a letter to "the Democracy of St. Louis County and City," in which he gave them instructions. He asserted that nullification and high treason polluted the Missouri statute books. "It is your duty to purify the record, by expunging the stuff which is as false as it is infamous."<sup>54</sup> On January 8 a meeting of the Benton Democracy in St. Louis passed resolutions, one of which asserted: "We now raise the battle-cry for the political campaign of 1854—the re-election of Thomas Hart Benton to the United States Senate."<sup>55</sup>

By this time many Missourians felt that the slavery question should no longer be agitated. Numerous meetings in various parts of the State approved the compromise measures passed by Congress as a definitive settlement of the slavery issue.<sup>56</sup> Besides, the Democratic state convention in April incorporated in its platform a declaration recognizing the compromise measures as a final settlement of questions which had threatened the harmony and the integrity of the Union.<sup>57</sup> The Whig state convention, meeting in St. Louis on April 19, 1852, asked that the Constitution be observed and the Union supported. It also denounced secession, "whether promoted by fanatics of the North or South," and declared that it would endorse no candidate who did not believe that the compromises were the final solution of the slavery question.<sup>58</sup> The Democratic state convention at Jefferson City on April 5 merits especial attention for it was in the Democratic party that most of the agitation on slavery occurred. Montgomery Blair announced that he had come there to promote harmony in the party. John W. Kelly, of Holt county, a Benton man, was chosen president.<sup>59</sup> In accordance with the report of the committee on credentials, the Benton supporters were permitted to cast two-thirds of the vote from St. Louis and the anti-Bentons, one-third. The Democrats adopted resolutions in which

<sup>54</sup>*Daily Missouri Republican*, January 14, 1852.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, January 12, 1852.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, February 17, 24, March 8, 23, April 1, 13, June 2, 1852.

<sup>57</sup>*Missouri Statesman*, April 16, 1852.

<sup>58</sup>*Daily Missouri Republican*, April 22, 1852.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*, April 6, 7, 1852.

they defended their right to instruct senators and representatives in Congress, averred unswerving loyalty to the Union, and declared that they would "hold no political fellowship with the abolitionists of the North or the nullifiers of the South."<sup>60</sup> After a disagreement, Sterling Price who was friendly to Benton but supported by the latter's opponents was nominated for governor.<sup>61</sup>

Although the Democratic party hoped that, for the time being at least, harmony had been achieved between its two factions, a convention at Cape Girardeau on May 3, 1856, indicated that such was not the case. The friends of Benton bolted the convention, organized their own meeting with James Lindsay as president, and nominated Benton for Congress. Resolutions drawn by the committee which included Francis P. Blair, Jr., and James Lindsay explain the bolt and speak of Benton as the real leader of the Democracy.<sup>62</sup> The slate selected by the Benton wing of the St. Louis Democrats was referred to by the *Daily Missouri Republican* as "The Free-Soil Ticket." In publishing the proceedings of the Democratic county convention held at Jefferson hall on May 29, the newspaper stated that acknowledged leading Free-Soilers were placed upon the ticket.<sup>63</sup> The *St. Louis Daily Union* was said at that time to be the "Free-Soil and Benton Journal."<sup>64</sup>

During the spring and summer of 1852, Benton delivered numerous speeches throughout Missouri. On April 1 he made an extended address at Hillsboro, Jefferson county, in which he gave a complete résumé of his case. In fact, in his subsequent speeches he mentioned very little not included here. Benton stated in the beginning that he had killed Calhoun's resolutions in the senate. They were not voted upon in that body but were sent to Missouri and to the other southern states. When the resolutions were returned to the senate, they were accompanied by instruc-

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*, April 8, 12, 1852.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*, April 8, 1852.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, May 3, 4, 6, 7, 1852. Lindsay, like Blair, was later a prominent antislavery leader.

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, May 31, 1852.

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid.*, June 12, 1852.

tions to those who had originally opposed them. In Missouri the resolutions were adopted in 1849 after the adjournment of Congress. Known as the Jackson resolutions, they were in the main the same as those sent from Washington and contrary to those of February 15, 1847. Benton said that the state legislature had not approved them before in order to allow time to organize opposition to him, and to hold meetings in every county to rouse sentiment in favor of the resolutions. He claimed that the plot to get rid of him had been formulated by a few "old nullifiers of 1833" who had opposed President Jackson's proclamation and by those who favored holding the Nashville convention in 1844 if the Texas annexation treaty were rejected. They realized that, since the death of Andrew Jackson, Benton was the chief opponent of nullification and secession. The conspiracy was revealed in the trial following the suit of Judge Birch against Benton who was accused of repeating what he had heard about Birch beating his wife. The trial was to be continued the following June. At that time Judge Napton and Claiborne Fox Jackson, who were suspected of being allies of Birch, would be forced to appear so that the inquiry could be pressed "and the devil pulled from under the blanket."<sup>65</sup>

Benton continued his speech at great length. He asserted that he had thwarted the plan of the authors of the Jackson resolutions to attend the Nashville convention. He said that he was opposed to slavery although he practiced it. Besides, he repeated his claim of earlier years that he was responsible for the slavery clauses in the state constitution which served to quiet agitation over the question and to keep it out of elections. Benton claimed that he had received his ideas on slavery from Tucker's notes to *Blackstone's Commentaries*, and that he had not changed his opinion on the subject. As for the question of the extension of slavery into the territories, he was against it, for it was a practical issue. It had been decided, he said, "by the Ordinance of 1787, by the Compromise of 1820, the Oregon

<sup>65</sup>*Ibid.*, April 27, 1852.

Organic Act of the people in 1848, also, in New Mexico and Utah by Spanish law." California had likewise disposed of the issue. "There is, therefore, no room for further extension of slavery." Benton asserted that he had gone to Buffalo in 1848 not to support Van Buren but to prevent old friends from so doing. He was not in Missouri during that campaign because he was not needed.<sup>66</sup>

Benton extended his tour, speaking at Boonville, Jackson, Manchester, St. Louis, and at other places.<sup>67</sup> His address at Jackson was especially noteworthy. In it he said that the Jefferson City Democratic convention of 1852 was in the hands of the "old nullifiers," and hence he had not attended.<sup>68</sup> He denounced the convention as a fraud. The *St. Louis Daily Evening News* was convinced that the statesman had proved the existence of a conspiracy against him.<sup>69</sup>

The election on August 3 was proclaimed as a great victory for Benton.<sup>70</sup> The vote on the candidates for Congress was as follows:<sup>71</sup>

	First District	St. Louis County
Benton.....	8,437	5,245
Caruthers.....	7,595	4,516
Bogy.....	2,566	720

In a speech at the St. Louis courthouse on August 6, Benton claimed that his slate was victorious in St. Louis county and that he had carried the twenty counties of the first congressional district.<sup>72</sup> Actually, he had won in ten counties: Bollinger, Cape Girardeau, Jefferson, Madison, Oregon, Perry, Ripley, Stoddard, Wayne, and St. Louis.<sup>73</sup> A report from the Missouri legislature stated that as a result of the election the house contained 43 of his supporters, 46 anti-

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.*, May 18, June 10, 22, 28, July 21, 1852.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*, May 18, 1852.

<sup>69</sup>*St. Louis Daily Evening News*, July 1, 1852.

<sup>70</sup>*Daily Missouri Republican*, August 5, 1852.

<sup>71</sup>*Ibid.*, September 16, 1852.

<sup>72</sup>*Ibid.*, August 13, 1852.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*, September 16, 1852.

Benton men, 41 Whigs, and the senate had 10 Bentions, 11 anti-Bentions, and 12 Whigs.<sup>74</sup>

The final political struggle between the various factions in Missouri politics in 1852 occurred while the house was attempting to organize during the special session of the seventeenth assembly. On September 3 several members spoke, but the outstanding event was the verbal battle between Francis P. Blair, Jr., and Clairborne F. Jackson. Previous speakers had declared that the Baltimore platform forbade further agitation of slavery. The responsibility for continuing it, they said, rested with the Benton men, who were trying to repeal the Jackson resolutions. Blair explained that his party wished to repeal the resolutions because they contained treasonable doctrines. Jackson replied that the Compromise of 1850 had ended the controversy and that he was opposed to any further agitation over slavery.<sup>75</sup>

In 1853 the disagreement in regard to the Jackson resolutions was carried into the regular session of the general assembly. During the debates, Benton's position on slavery was criticized. In the joint session on January 21, Robert M. Stewart said that Benton was an abolitionist and a Free-Soiler of the worst kind, and that he had been praised by a New York abolition convention in which free negroes had been permitted to deliver speeches. Stewart remarked also that a negro newspaper had congratulated its readers that Benton was about to stump the state of Missouri.<sup>76</sup> An effort was made in the assembly to repeal the Jackson resolutions. On February 5 Francis P. Blair, Jr., introduced resolutions which would rescind those approved on March 10, 1849.<sup>77</sup> On February 14 his proposals received a second reading.<sup>78</sup> Tompkins submitted a substitute not radically different from the Blair propositions. Hunter moved to lay the original and the substitute on the table; his motion carried 72 to 49.<sup>79</sup> Thus was lost any chance of expunging

<sup>74</sup>*Ibid.*, September 1, 1853.

<sup>75</sup>*Ibid.*, September 7, 1852.

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid.*, January 25, 1853.

<sup>77</sup>Missouri, *House Journal*, 17th G. A., 2nd Sess., 1852-1853, p. 480.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 519.

<sup>79</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 520.



the record as Benton had requested. Prior to the vote on the Blair measures, Tompkins claimed that the Whigs were the pioneers in the Free-Soil movement, and that "Benton came to us upon that question."<sup>80</sup> Thus the veteran statesman was being placed in the category of an anti-slavery man.

After the assembly had adjourned, the *Daily Missouri Republican* discussed the political situation, asserting that a more severe conflict was coming between the Bentons and the anti-Bentons. In the meantime, Benton's forces were strengthened. He had already the support of two newspapers: the *Daily Missouri Democrat* and the *Jefferson Inquirer*. They were to be augmented by the *St. Joseph Gazette* under a new editor.<sup>81</sup> A little later the *Savannah Sentinel* was reported coming over to his side,<sup>82</sup> and about the same time the Ste. Genevieve *Plaindealer* entered Benton's ranks.<sup>83</sup> In 1853 the *Daily Missouri Democrat* was quite active in its support of Benton. In April it stated: "We have gallantly opened the campaign of 1854 which is to restore Col. Benton to his seat in the Senate."<sup>84</sup> According to this paper, Benton was now more popular throughout the country than ever before.<sup>85</sup>

During 1854 Benton's influence in the State declined, notwithstanding that he received considerable support for public office. Early in January, B. Gratz Brown of St. Louis sent a list of resolutions to the *Daily Missouri Democrat* to be considered by a meeting of the St. Louis Democracy on January 9. The last resolution stated that Benton's re-election was the great issue before the Democratic party in the elections of 1854.<sup>86</sup> At the meeting on January 9, this resolution was one of several presented by Francis P. Blair, Jr. Among the leaders of the Benton party who spoke were: Thomas L. Price of Jefferson City, Arnold Krekel of St. Charles, and Francis P. Blair, Jr., B. Gratz Brown, and

<sup>80</sup>*Daily Missouri Democrat* (St. Louis), February 11, 1853.

<sup>81</sup>*Daily Missouri Republican*, April 15, 1853.

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.*, April 25, 1853.

<sup>83</sup>*Daily Missouri Democrat*, April 19, 1853.

<sup>84</sup>*Ibid.*, April 7, 1853.

<sup>85</sup>*Ibid.*, June 8, 1853.

<sup>86</sup>*Ibid.*, January 4, 1854.



Alexander Kayser of St. Louis.<sup>87</sup> Later these men were to figure prominently in the movement for emancipation. The *Daily Missouri Democrat* thought that the St. Louis municipal election, which the Benton Democracy had won by 1500 votes, would have a great influence upon the State, and that Benton's election to the senate was a certainty.<sup>88</sup> On June 26, at the so-called "Benton Primary Election," held in St. Louis and the remainder of St. Louis county, Benton received 4280 votes for the nomination for Congress; apparently he had no opposition on the ticket.<sup>89</sup> On the night of August 4, Charles Daenzer, editor of the *Anzeiger des Westens*, spoke to a large pro-Benton gathering in St. Louis. He called Benton the particular friend and protector of the German freeman. At this assemblage there was some fighting between Benton's supporters and his opponents.<sup>90</sup> Although those who favored Benton were enthusiastic about his chances for Congress in 1854, an opponent, Judge William Napton, proslavery but politically shrewd withal, wrote in his *Diary* that the Benton organization was declining. It might still have enough votes when combined with the Whigs to capture the state offices. But Benton's popularity was on the wane, even though he had a personal following among St. Louisans and certain Germans and other foreigners elsewhere in the State.<sup>91</sup>

The election on August 7, 1854, conducted amidst much disorder and bloodshed in St. Louis, resulted in the defeat of Benton. He received 5304 votes for Congress, whereas Kennett, the Whig candidate, polled 6251.<sup>92</sup> For several days thereafter rioting occurred in the city which necessitated calling the National Guard.<sup>93</sup> Whether or not the Benton partisans lost the election, as one journal asserted, by a too

<sup>87</sup>*Ibid.*, January 10, 1854.

<sup>88</sup>*Ibid.*, April 8, 1854. The figures given by this paper evidently were too large, for John How was elected mayor with 4293 votes to 3465 for Carson, the Whig. *Daily Missouri Republican*, March 27, 1854.

<sup>89</sup>*Daily Missouri Republican*, June 28, 1854.

<sup>90</sup>*Ibid.*, August 7, 1854.

<sup>91</sup>*Diary of William B. Napton*, p. 80.

<sup>92</sup>*St. Louis Daily Evening News*, August 9, 12, 1854.

<sup>93</sup>*Daily Missouri Republican*, August 6, 9, 10, 1854.

enthusiastic stirring of the Germans against the natives,<sup>94</sup> is problematical, but the fact remains that Benton's cause now fell into a recession from which it never recovered.

Even though Benton's political fortunes and his personal popularity were fast fading, he took one last fling at politics in 1856. On June 8 a correspondent wrote from the Ohio river steamer *Eclipse* that the great Benton, who for some reason had failed to get off the boat at a regular landing about ten miles above Louisville, was permitted to disembark a mile farther down the river. As the elderly man clambered up the muddy bank, a passenger observed that if any one had done such a thing to Benton ten years earlier, he would have been mobbed.<sup>95</sup> A few days later when Benton arrived at St. Louis, the press took note that he was met at the boat by a "couple of friends."<sup>96</sup> In spite of his rapidly diminishing hold upon the electorate, Benton ran for governor, saying that he had not desired a place on the ticket but he thought that the country was in danger at home and abroad.<sup>97</sup> At the same time he supported Buchanan on the national ticket in opposition to his own son-in-law, John C. Frémont.<sup>98</sup> The gubernatorial election returns revealed that although he carried about a dozen counties, Benton ran a poor third, with Polk winning and Ewing ranking second.<sup>99</sup> Thus was terminated the political course of a man whose long and turbulent career has no equal in Missouri history.

Why did Benton ultimately lose his political following in Missouri? Doubtless, there were a number of causes such as advancing age, too long continued service, and his unyielding stand upon several public questions, but it must now appear clear that his position on the slavery issue was in large measure his undoing: he had opposed the proslavery interests of the State. At this period the "institution"

---

<sup>94</sup>*Ibid.*, August 8, 1854.

<sup>95</sup>*Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), June 20, 1856.

<sup>96</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup>Stevens, Walter B., *Centennial History of Missouri (The Center State) One Hundred Years In the Union, 1820-1921*, Vol. I, p. 693.

<sup>99</sup>*Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican*, August 7, 1856.

was still too strongly intrenched in state politics to tolerate any attack upon it even though it came in such a mild form as simply the support of the Wilmot Proviso and the denunciation of those who disagreed, as "nullifiers" and "disunionists."

LIFE, LABOR, AND SOCIETY IN BOONE  
COUNTY, MISSOURI, 1834-1852, AS RE-  
VEALED IN THE CORRESPONDENCE OF  
AN IMMIGRANT SLAVE-OWNING FAMILY  
FROM NORTH CAROLINA

## PART II

BY LEWIS E. ATHERTON<sup>1</sup>

- I. Letter of William B. Lenoir (son of Walter Raleigh Lenoir), Boone county, Missouri, December 29, 1836, to Thomas I. Lenoir at Fort Defiance, North Carolina.<sup>2</sup>

Dear Cousin . . . .

You have heard enough I expect to ennoble [*sic*] you to form so correct an idea of this state that what I could say on a single sheet of paper would not expand your ideas to a much greater extent with this belief and a wish to interest you as much as I can I will confine myself mostly to recent occurrences [*sic*]. opportunities of becoming more and more acquainted with Missouri and its Citizens to me daily increase and with it that fondness I for some time had. I have been living in Columbia nearly six months Clerk for Parker Barr & Co.<sup>3</sup> We are very busy almost every day selling goods, when not in the store I have the books to attend to which alone is a very considerable task you will think so when I tell you that we sell from four to five thousand dollars worth of goods pr [*sic*] month, besides this Columbia has ten other stores, selling from two thousand to twenty five hundred dollars worth pr [*sic*] month exclusive of these Boone County contains fourteen stores all of which are doing

<sup>1</sup>LEWIS E. ATHERTON, native Missourian, is an associate professor of history at the University of Missouri. A Guggenheim fellowship for the academic year, 1941-1942, for a study of the southern antebellum store and additional aid from the University of Missouri research council made it possible for Professor Atherton to examine economic material available in southern libraries. He has compiled other studies on the pioneer merchant and is a frequent contributor to historical journals.

<sup>2</sup>This letter is from the University of North Carolina collection of the Lenoir letters. See Part I for a complete description of the Lenoir collections in southern libraries.

<sup>3</sup>Parker, Barr, and company was organized in 1834, according to the advertisement in the *Missouri Intelligencer* (Columbia), December 13, 1834.

a good business, you can judge from this what extravagant folks we Missourians are.<sup>4</sup> I learn from the Watchman<sup>5</sup> that No Carolina is much in the notion of Rail Roads and that it is in contemplation to have one extended from Fayetteville [Fayetteville] to Wilksborough [Wilkesboro], as to this project it would be considered presumption for a lad of my age to give an opinion, but be this as it may must say to you that I hope my friends will never risque [sic] funds in such stock as that must ultimately be. Thomas when I reflect on the poor barren Country that Road is expected to run through and the vast amount of money to carry it in to operation [sic] in consequence of the unevenness of the Country reduces the matter too plain, and I do think that you will join me when I say, that the profits of that Road will never justify the expense. Since I have seen this rich and fertile soil and the advantages that might be expected to arise from internal improvements; I am astonished that an idea of a Rail Road to Wilkesboro should have ever existed, and I cannot beleive [sic] now that the more inteligent [sic] part of the community have any idea that it will ever go in to operation [sic] all this blowing must be by men that wish to increase the value of their lands. whether so or not, the fever is already high and I hope will continue untill [sic] such times as Father can dispose of his land. True No. Carolina's distrubitive [sic] share of the publick [sic] funds<sup>6</sup> can do much in the way of Rail Roads & Canals but when that money is expended I fear that unless you get annother [sic] supply from the proceeds of sales of western lands you will not be able after your Roads are completed to keep them in repair. Thomas, excuse me for such expressions it is my native state as well as yours and would rejoice could I have a better opinion of it than what I have. Come and see Missouri and I think you will say with me that Old No Ca will not do. It is in contempla-

<sup>4</sup>Actual mercantile business books indicate his estimate of weekly sales to have been too high. See the editor's, *The Pioneer Merchant in Mid-America* (University of Missouri Studies, Columbia, 1939), pp. 45-46.

<sup>5</sup>This was a weekly paper published at Salisbury, North Carolina, the *Carolina Watchman*.

<sup>6</sup>A reference to the distribution of surplus federal revenue among the states in Jackson's presidency.

tion to have a Rail Road from Louisiana [Missouri] on the Mississippi river to Columbia.<sup>7</sup> the Route has been surveyed & said to be practicable, some three or four weeks since after a long and laborious survey of about eighty four miles Col Guyon U. S. Engineer & Company arrived [and] surveyed Broadway to the western suburb of C [Columbia] that night the town was illuminated not a window could be seen but there was at least two candles burning

that would not do the light from candles was not brilliant [*sic*] enough in such flattering times, so every tar barrel that could be raised being about ten in number, were placed at equal distances from each other on Broadway and all set on fire at once.

the light was then very brilliant [*sic*], every eye was opened every mind engaged thinking what a change it would make in this Western land as the angry blaze rose in torrents from the pitch barrels and as the black smoke rolled in clouds over our now small but promising town, next morning the citizens raised in a very short time by subscription money enough to defray the expense of a sumptuous [*sic*] dinner which was given Col Guyon. A majority of the citizens attended conversed the subject ate hearty &c &c

here the scene ended.<sup>8</sup> Col Guyon has since made out a report which has been submitted to the Legislature for that body to consult,<sup>9</sup> we have not yet heard but anticipate [*sic*] little or no doubt but the road will be chartered if so it will no sooner be known that preparations [*sic*] will be making to commence the work

<sup>7</sup>An exchange item from the *Columbia Patriot* (Columbia), in the *St. Louis Missouri Argus*, October 28, 1836, contained the information that "Mr. Guanon" had actually started the survey for the Louisiana and Missouri river railroad. Reprinted in the *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXXI, No. 2 (January, 1931), p. 242.

<sup>8</sup>Files of the Columbia paper for this period are not available in any library and other Missouri papers of the time seem not to have carried a report of this celebration.

<sup>9</sup>The Missouri legislature meeting in 1836-37 was greatly excited over the prospects for railroads and some seventeen charters were granted in the period from January 23 to February 6, 1837. White, Edward J., "A Century of Transportation in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XV, No. 1 (October, 1920), pp. 126-162, especially pp. 143-144. Also Million, John W., *State Aid to Railways in Missouri*, pp. 1-43. This early phase of railroad development was checked in the promotional stages by the panic of 1837 and nothing concrete was accomplished until the 1850s.

the road will run within fifty yds [*sic*] of the site Father has selected for building running close long side Walnut Grove thence through his land but injuring it but little as it is on a rige [*sic*] that he never expects to cultivate. Land is at least seventy five per ct [cent] higher now than it was twelve months ago in fact every thing has risen considerably. corn is worth at this time one dollar and a half at the crib (corn will be worth \$3.00 next summer so it is said, little frostbitten) wheat \$1 pr [*sic*] Bushel flour \$8. pr [*sic*] Barrel pork \$4 & 4.50 pr [*sic*] hundred and everything in proportion. The farmers have been much incommoded in gathering their crops in consequence of the extreme cold weather attended with a snow near eighteen inches deep, which fell about the 13th this month and nearly covered the earth yet unfavorable as the season is there has been more than ordinary efforts in preparing for a future drop, last summer we had peaches in profusion apples in moderate quantities besides a variety of other choice fruits Health has in general prevaled [*sic*] throughout our towns and settlements with the exception of a few localities our family never have enjoyed better health and more of it than since we came to Missouri Pah [*sic*] never sent for a doctor but was very near it a few days since on his own account being taken with a severe pain in the stomach accompanied with a severe pain in the head which caused a high fever suffered considerably for a day and night but glad am I to say that he is again restored to his usual good health and says he likes Missouri as good if not better than ever Town site making land speculation Rail Road Conventions<sup>10</sup> and a thirst for education still give evidence that Mo will one day rival most [of] her sister states in point of morality, wealth and internal improvements. laying of towns and making fortunes from selling lots have become quite common here one of this firm have made a very handsome speculation on that beautiful little town called Rocheport situated on the Missouri River about 14

---

<sup>10</sup>This whole letter reflects the feverish expansion which preceded the panic of 1837.



miles from this place,<sup>11</sup> having bought 3 years ago for fifteen hundred dollars one third of an interest of the above named town cleared from of expense about ten dollars there. has also been another [*sic*] town laid off (called Oregon)<sup>12</sup> within 18 miles of this place sales to take place in a short time I expect lots will sell high. Can hear of new towns springing up in nearly every part of the state. The country is rapidly filling up with movers which we see pass even at this late period, about 4 weeks ago not less than twenty wagons would pass during the day some times more the cry for house rent and provisions was considerable every farmer is getting rich if he has been industrious, what a contrast when we speak of Poor Old No Carolina, one is fast declining and the other rapidly improving. My companion who is a fine young man often laughs at me when he hears me praising No Ca having read the Watchman and seeing at what rates land can be bought at there I do it more than justice as it is my native state. I am very much pleased with the young men generally of this place beleave [*sic*] them to be as kind hospitable and inteligent [*sic*] as any you will meet with. I am also pleased with my employers and like selling goods very well. I rode out to Fathers last Saturday morning found the family all well and hearty and after weighing four thousand lbs of fine pork which was bought cheap, I weighed all the white Family . . . . I returned in the evening Spent Christmas very pleasantly being at two very pleasant parties . . . .

P. S. The Columbia Femaie School still flourishes cannot take in near all the applicants, Sisters A. E. & J. E. are not going this session in consequence of the cold winter we expected to have, will commence again next spring . . . .

Dec. 30th P. S. Pah [*sic*] sold Emma for \$650 kept her

<sup>11</sup>Rochepoort was laid out in 1825. See Franklin, Lillie, "Rochepoort, Missouri, An Illustration of Economic Adjustment and Environment," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (October, 1924), pp. 3-11.

<sup>12</sup>The name "Oregon" was highly popular in Missouri and a present day Missouri town is so named. Files of the Columbia paper for this period are not available and the town does not seem to have been mentioned in other contemporary Missouri papers. It apparently did not get beyond the promotional stage.



child which is a promising looking Boy. I have the money loaned out in good hands at 10 pr [sic] ct [cent]. We now have pleasant weather. Snow nearly gone, Creeks up, can go to mill get grinding and take but one horse, Adieu Wm B. Lenoir Will you write to me.

- II. Letter of Walter Raleigh Lenoir, Boone county, Missouri, February 29, 1838, to William A. Lenoir at Greensboro, Greene county, Alabama.<sup>13</sup>

Dear William

Yours of the 28th ultimo was recd last week, and I will now advance an idea or two in reply to the plans set forth in your letter of applying your funds. You say you will probably be able to raise 4 or 5 thousand dollars and that you have an idea of speculating on land in Illinoise [Illinois] or Ohio. You have lately visited those states and as I know but little about them, will not hazard an opinion as to the prospects of speculation in real estate but as respects Mo. am of opinion that the prospects for land speculation at this time is dull. not much good land subject to entry and individual prices are much higher through out the State than when you were here, and under every consideration I am inclined to think that land must decline, in price, at least it will be stationary for a few years. It is now rating in Boone & adjacent counties for more than it can be sold for, emigrants [sic] will not purchase at the prices, while land can be had at less price elsewhere, but believe the time will be, when lands here will sell much higer [sic] than the present prices, but believe that a man of small capital like yourself could employ his money to a better advantage than to vest it in lands & wait the rise in prices.

My son William by his industry and a little of my help, has got a little money say \$800 this he keeps loaned out at 15 pr [sic] cent,<sup>14</sup> which is more profitable than the increase in value of lands for years to come, a man situated as

<sup>13</sup>Letter from University of North Carolina collection.

<sup>14</sup>This apparently was illegal since the interest rate set by statute was 6 per cent except in cases where specific agreement permitted a limit of 10 per cent. *Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1845*, pp. 614-615.

William, can loan money without making bad debts, both him & his employers are well acquainted with the people generally and he makes it a rule not to risque [*sic*] his little cash without security, and must believe that either principle [*sic*] or security is good (without doubt) for the amount; and if William had \$10,000 I would advise him to pursue his present course in preference to speculating on land in this State at the present time.

In answer to your conjecture as to a stock farm in W. N. Ca or E. Tenn. on the Kentucky plan;<sup>15</sup> will say that it will consume much of your funds in making preparation, and your success as in all pursuits will be attended with uncertainty & much anxiety of mind. If you go for raising stock let it be in a country well adapted to grass and grain, and where stock will allways [*sic*] be in demand at your door as Ky. Ills. or Mo.

As to your enquiry [*sic*], How the money of other States passes here, can give you but little satisfaction. Illinoise [*sic*] paper is 5 pr [*sic*] cent discount in Columbia but expect it can be exchanged on better terms in St. Louis, we have but very little paper of other States in circulation here; United States paper is considered as at par.<sup>16</sup> Probably some of your neighbour merchants takes the New York or Philadelphia *Prices current* [*sic*]. If you can get to see how paper of other states passes in either of those cities it will be the best criterion to judge of its value.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup>General stock farms in the Kentucky bluegrass offered a distinct contrast to much of the rest of southern economy. Hence the reference to the "Kentucky plan." See Gray, Lewis C., *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, Vol. II, pp. 837-838.

<sup>16</sup>Strictly speaking there was no United States paper at this time. The second national bank of the United States ceased operation, March 3, 1835. It was rechartered by the state of Pennsylvania as the Bank of the United States of Pennsylvania. Catterall, Ralph C. H., *The Second Bank of the United States*, pp. 370-372. Lenoir may have had these notes of this state bank in mind. He also could have been referring to the treasury notes put out to ease the pressure of the panic of 1837. See Dewey, Davis R., *Financial History of the United States*, pp. 234-235. State bank paper, however, was the common form of circulation at this time and much of it was depreciated well below par.

<sup>17</sup>*Price Currents* were financial sheets circulated in trade centers. They contained such matter as tables of value of currency of various banks, prices in various markets, transportation schedules, and other matter of interest to business men. The advice here offered was sound, since eastern business men constantly checked on the value of bills circulated by state banks and refused to accept them except at safe ratings.

William is still with Parker & Barr of Columbia the balance of my family are at home and all in good health and well satisfied with our home; We have had a remarkable [*sic*] cold Feby but the fall the first of the winter was remarkable [*sic*] pleasant. Corn is worth 50 cents pr. [*sic*] Bushel . . . I expect I can sell 40 or 50 barrels of corn, the last crop season was so very wet that it has caused grain to be unusually scarce. . . .

- III. Letter of Walter Raleigh Lenoir, Boone county, Missouri, June 15, 1838, to William B. Lenoir at Lenoir's, Tennessee.<sup>18</sup>

Brother William . . . .

Corn & small grain crops are promising at this time and will have a good barn completed by harvest. I am also making some preparation for building a dwelling house next summer, and think that I can have all the materials by next spring without advancing any money. My neighbour who owns the saw-mill owes me for the hire of hands as much as my bill for sawing will come too [*sic*], the balance [*sic*] of materials will be furnished by the labour of my own hands. I have sold about \$100 worth of grain this spring, I am still enlarging my farm and it begins to look like home.

I thank you my dear brother for your kind proposal to try and halp me to money in case I should need; If necessity required I could borrow money of some [of] my neighbours, but think it would be bad policy to pay interest while the expenses of my family is considerable & but a small farm & a few negroes my only resort for money; If I had the money for my land and half my debts it would be sufficient for present purposes and if I can not get what is due me in N. Ca. will try & do with what I have here at command; The pressure of the times begins to be felt in Mo. and expect that land & all other property must depreciate in price<sup>19</sup> . . . . There are two other tracts adjoining me that will probably be sold before 12 months, perhaps among chances I can make some desirable [*sic*] acquisition to my farm.

<sup>18</sup>Letter from the University of North Carolina collection.

<sup>19</sup>The panic of 1837 resulted in hard times in Missouri.

The gold fever has began [*sic*] to rage in this country I have found gold in two of my branches and in 8 or 10 others in the settlement, the prospects for gold is realy [*sic*] flattering.<sup>20</sup> I examined a branch on Government land about 4 miles from home which averaged about five particles to the pan full, when I have time will make further examination & perhaps I can find a mine that can be had for \$1.25 pr [*sic*] acre that can be sold for a large profit. I have no idea of ever attempting to work a mine, again,<sup>21</sup> but if I can speculate in an honorable way by entering gold mines and selling again, will do so if an opportunity offers. I am persuaded that from the description had of some of the southern counties that there are places of rich deposits and that in time Mo. will be considered rich in gold as well as many other valuable metals. No person in this settlement understands searching for gold except myself and negroes, I expect that Anthony<sup>22</sup> was the first that discovered gold in the State . . . .

- IV. Letter of William B. Lenoir (son of Walter Raleigh Lenoir), Boone county, Missouri, November 12, 1840, to William B. Lenoir at Lenoir's, Tennessee.<sup>23</sup>

Dear Uncle . . . .

I have been very busily engaged for two or three months settling 2 sett [*sic*] of merchantile [*sic*] books, found it very troublesome indeed, have collected but very little money, our merchants, have not sold more than one 3rd as many goods within the last 12 months, as they have in same time for 10 years, they are more desirous to close, than to extend credit.<sup>24</sup> I have not commenced business as yet on my own hook, but

<sup>20</sup>There seems to have been no other contemporary reports of gold fever in Missouri. Judge William J. Ridgeway of the Boone county probate court who was reared in the old Lenoir neighborhood says, however, that a branch on the old Lenoir farm was called "Gold branch" and that there was a neighborhood tradition concerning the finding of a few grains of gold on the Lenoir farm.

<sup>21</sup>Lenoir had attempted to operate a gold mine in North Carolina before moving to Missouri. See letter written by him to the Tennessee brother from Wilkesboro, North Carolina, September 16, 1832, in the University of North Carolina collection.

<sup>22</sup>One of Lenoir's slaves.

<sup>23</sup>Letter from the University of North Carolina collection.

<sup>24</sup>The panic of 1837 was particularly destructive for country and small town merchants. See, for example, Atherton, *The Pioneer Merchant in Mid-America*, p. 111.

think will not be very long. soon after my return from N. Ca. I had a proposition, that I would gladly have accepted in any ordinary times, but thought it best to wait, untill [*sic*] times were better . . . .

V. Letter of Walter Raleigh Lenoir, Boone county, Missouri, November 24, 1840, to William B. Lenoir at Lenoir's, Tennessee.<sup>25</sup>

Brother William . . . .

My crop of corn is good and have 50 fat hogs in the pen. Killed a beef a few days ago that weighed 920 lb and expect to kill one or two more this winter and will soon have a large framed smoke-house completed, so you will understand that our prospects for meat & Bread is tolerable [*sic*] good; I am not in debt & have about \$2500. on interest at 10 pr [*sic*] cent, and as much in my purse as will supply the wants of my family. We are progressing very well with the University, and expect it will be completed next fall<sup>26</sup> . . . . November 29th. Brother William several days has passed since the preceding was wrote but I have not been asleep all the time, during the interval I have bargained with one of my neighbours for (say) 55 acres of land at \$20 pr [*sic*] acre; he is to make me a deed so soon as we can have the lines run and I am to pay him the money. I would not miss the trade for no small consideration, the land is rich & lies well for cultivation, adjoines [*sic*] mine & the nearest part within 200 yards of my house; five years ago I purchased my home tract at \$6 pr [*sic*] acre so you have an example of the effect of the university and some other [manuscript torn] on the price of land. I expect to buy a quarter section adjoining my land if I should live before very long if I find that I can make pay't [*sic*] without involving my self too much the land is well timbered but not of the best quality.

Next Wednesday night Columbia is to be aluminated [*sic*] and other great doings on account of the Victory over the Vanities.<sup>27</sup> My family well . . . .

<sup>25</sup>Letter from University of North Carolina collection.

<sup>26</sup>The University of Missouri started classes in 1841. Viles, Jonas, *The University of Missouri. A Centennial History*, p. 25.

<sup>27</sup>A celebration in honor of Harrison's election to the presidency in 1840 over Martin Van Buren, democratic candidate. Lenoir was a Whig and thus pleased with the results.

- VI. Letter of Mrs. Walter Raleigh Lenoir, Greenwood, Boone county, Missouri, January 15, 1851, to Thomas Lenoir at Fort Defiance, North Carolina.<sup>28</sup>

Dear Brother Thomas, . . . .

Your first inquiry my dear Brother was, the cause why you have been kept almost ignorant, respecting my self and family? I could offer some apologies—but they are cold heartless things between friends,—Yet affection, demands, justifies demands a reason for all this silence. Well my dear Brother, I do acknowledge my negligence and too great a disposition to postpone, but will not for a moment admit that it proceeded from a want of sisterly affection towards you or any relation of my beloved and ever to be lamented Husband, I will stop the subject by saying these things ought not so to be,—and I think that I will not be so negligent in the future. Altho I have deferred writing to you for several weeks it was with the hope that I could now give you satisfactory intelligence from all my family, particularly those that had gone to the Golden Land.<sup>29</sup> I was suffering intense anxiety for the fate of my son Walter, who it was, confidently believed, was lost on his way home in July last; we heard he had started in a sail vessel, and one was lost about that time, but just as I was preparing to give him up—he made his appearance in good health, grown to be six feet high and large in proportion, you can imagine our joy. I could scarcely believe he was the same lean, pale delicate looking Son that left me 17 months since. I cannot begin to tell of the scenes of toil, suffering, dangers and sicknesses he has passed through—he was near being lost at Sea in a storm his friend was swept over board, from his side, and it required all his strength to keep from following him, he [was] sick nearly all the time in Cal.

was only able to work 2 month, did very well—but paying Physicians and getting home, spent nearly all he made. if he could have had his health like the most of persons thats gone there he would have made a fortune before he left. I hope it is all for the best, that he did return, for the Cholera has made its dreadful ravages [*sic*] among the people in that region,

<sup>28</sup>Letter from the University of North Carolina collection.

<sup>29</sup>Reference to California and the gold strike there.

hundreds and thousands have been taken off—Oh if those dear ones that left behind were at home too, what a burden would be taken from my heart—but *He* who has brought one wanderer through storms, tempest, toil & sickness I humbly trust will watch over the others, and bring *them safely* on. the last account from Mr. Russell, and Slater, they were in Sacramento [*sic*] in the midst of Cholera, they were sick with Diarrhea. Mr. R. said in his letter that he was about well, but Slater was in a very delicate condition, was not able to be moved out of the City—he said that 10 and 12 was buried every day for two weeks—this causes me great uneasiness. Julia is now living in St. Louis, she has an affectionate and Devoted husband, and two very interesting children, Walter Lenoir and Mary Harden. Mr Church gets a thousand dollars, and a room handsomely furnished this year, he owns two lots in the city if he continues there longer, he will keep house. Julia seems to be as happy as it is possible for any one to be. her social, cheerful, disposition, makes many and warm friends wherever she goes. Caroline is enjoying good health, has two promising daughters, Marion Caroline, and Sarah Louisa all she wants to complete her happiness is the return of Mr. Russell, and then move to their pleasant home in Columbia, where he was doing well as a Lawyer. William is also staying with me, until he can get his home in Columbia—he has, an intelligent [*sic*] pleasant wife and two children, Walter Chappell and Mary Ellen,—William made 6 thousand dollars while in Cal. he can do well in his profession. he has the confidence of the people, as being a good Physician. Ann Elizas little son, William Boyle Jewell is growing quite an interesting and smart boy—he is now in good health, and the idol of his rich old grandfather—who has no child to keep up his name but the one. Louisa is a girl of an amiable disposition—beloved by all that know her—she is kind and very pious—all affectionate and good to me—and more than all—my dear Brother, I have the great comfort to see all of my children, but the youngest, enter the paths of wisdom what a season of delight to behold them seated with me at the table of the Lord, and holding communion with them in the joys of faith



and the anticipation of purer joys than this world can give—what abundant reason I have to be grateful—to see my family thus far growing in usefulness—and respected. Walter is a noble minded boy and industrious habits. I dont know what he will turn his attentions too [*sic*], in future. I feel greatly relieved about the business of my farm since his return. I farmed it upon a small scale last year having no one to superintend,—I kept 4 negro men at home, one sick all the crop season. I might say two for Old Jess could not work as a young hand yet he answered a good purpose to keep the farming utensils in order. Walter and William say I have 500 barrels of corn—they have not cribed [*sic*] it all yet—will finish this week—most excellent wheat only 250 bushels—a quantity of Hay and Oats—I cant say how much—a great deal more than I want. I will sell 50 Bushels of Irish Potatoes they are in demand at 75 cts [*sic*] a bushel now—and I dont doubt but they will be \$1.00 in the spring—because only a few raised and I was one of the fortunate ones and I did not raise half as many as usual—only killed 7600 lbs of Pork, kept 3000, sold the balance at \$2.50 a hundred. I have more stock than I ought to keep. I have 9 horses—5 mules—44 head of Cattle—70 sheep—and something near 80 hogs. I do sell something of all I raise every year. I want Walter to dispose of some of the young horses and mules—3 year old mules—first rate sell readily at \$100 two of mine would bring that. I was offered it last spring, but prefered [*sic*] working them on the farm—last year I had 7 negro men hired—which—brought me in clear of all expence \$790—but I lost more than I gained—by the death of two young men, two Brothers 1 age 23, and 21 the other fine likely men. George met with an accident, got his big toe broke—took the Lock Jaw and died in a day and night. Henry was sick with some kind of fever—this is a considerable loss to me. This year I have 4 hired for the year \$465 I dont know yet what Anthony and Solomon will make. they will make Brick when the season commences, at 20 per month they can bring me in something every year by making shingles and Boards and Hewing, before they commence the Brick business—farming will be a great business in Mo. this year—so many



men left their families with money to buy what they need—whole neighbourhoods not a man left, their families depending on surrounding country.<sup>30</sup>

our University is in a flourishing condition at this time, under the care of a highly accomplished and energetic gentleman

113 students this session and still coming in, they are all young men, but 15<sup>31</sup>—I long to see Slater among them. Our town is improving and getting to be a handsome place . . . .

VII. Letter of Mrs. Walter Raleigh Lenoir, Greenwood, Boone county, Missouri, November 18, 1851, to Thomas Lenoir, Fort Defiance, North Carolina.<sup>32</sup>

My Dear Sisters, . . . .

My family is very small now only 4, Elvira, Slater a little student 13 years old, and myself are all the white ones—in April William and Caroline moved to Columbia and have improved their professions, and doing well; William has boarders (students) and attends to his Profession, he is getting a very good practice . . . . Caroline and Mr. Russell are very comfortably fixed also, he has some boarders, and attends to his Profession (the Law,) . . . . Julia and her family left me the first of Sept. for St Louis, where they are housekeeping and probably will remain permanently, he has charge of the Christian Church in that place . . . . Walter has been studying medicine since he returned from Cal. he has gone to St. Louis to attend the Lectures,<sup>33</sup> he seemed determined to make a good Physician of himself . . . . Slaters health is pretty good now he has commenced his course of study at the University again, and I think he will go through—he gives his attention to the business of the farm too—and

<sup>30</sup>Many men went to California from Boone county in the gold rush. See *History of Boone County, Missouri* . . . ., pp. 361-364, for list of emigrants to California in 1850, including Slater Lenoir.

<sup>31</sup>James Shanonn was president of the University at the time. *Viles, University of Missouri*, p. 53. There was a total enrollment of 124 in 1851. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>32</sup>Letter from the University of North Carolina collection.

<sup>33</sup>Walter Lenoir graduated from Missouri university in 1849 and attended lectures at the St. Louis medical college. He was a prominent doctor in Columbia for many years. *History of Boone County, Missouri* . . . ., pp. 899-900.

I am in hopes he will manage with my assistance so as to make it profitable tho I dont calculate much from the proceeds of my farm, as I keep but 3 hands at home, Old Jess is one of them, the hire of my servants is a better business. Anthony and Soloman [*sic*], the two moulders, are hired for \$175 a piece this year, 4 others at \$125, 20, 15 [i. e. \$125, \$120, \$115] each—a negro woman for \$40. having children with her, do not hire for much Stock of every kind is selling high. Beef cattle has been selling at 4 cts [*sic*] per pound 3 cts [*sic*] now Pork at \$3.50. I have 45 hogs fatning [*sic*] which I shall make into Bacon, and send to St Louis in the Spring, Corn is being delivered in Columbia at \$1.25 per barrell [*sic*]. I sold \$125 worth of old corn a few weeks since, & 4 steers for \$68, the best one I got \$25 for; I will have a great deal of wheat more than I want. Slater thinks 100 bushels or more the present crop of corn turns out well, have not the half of it gathered yet. I get 15 cts [*sic*] a pound for all the Butter I can spare, so you see my dear Sisters we at least have plenty, and can get a good price for all the surplus. Our schools are in quite a flourishing condition, our state University is rapidly growing under the Superintendence of President Shannon, upwards of 120 students since Sept. and still coming in,<sup>34</sup> the Female schools are speaking much for the citizens of the place 60 at one, and more than 70 young ladies from all parts of the state at the other, the two gentleman [*sic*] and ladies that have the charge of these schools are spoken of by those that are judges, as having minds of superior order,<sup>35</sup> as far as I am acquainted, I have found them to be such as I think, becomes such a station—plain social and agreeable. Mr. and Mrs. Shannon with their large and interesting family

<sup>34</sup>The enrollment of the University for the term ending in 1852 totalled 143. Viles, *University of Missouri*, p. 69.

<sup>35</sup>The Reverend Tyre C. Harris was in charge of Columbia female academy. *Missouri Statesman*, advertisement of September 5, 1851. John A. William was in charge of Christian female college. *Ibid.*, advertisement of September 12, 1851. The advertisements list the other faculty members. The *Missouri Statesman*, July 2, 1852, discussed closing exercises for the two schools and gave 86 as the number entering Columbia female academy during the past term. No figures seem to have been given for the other school, but for the term under way in October, 1852, the paper said 100 were expected. *Ibid.*, October 8, 1852.

are quite an acquisition to our society,<sup>36</sup>—Columbia is improving every year—there are four churches in the place—Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist and the Christian denomination, the Episcopalians probably will have one built next summer,<sup>37</sup> there has been protracted meetings, held at all the churches lately and members have been added to each denomination, the greater number, are the young persons Oh! what a beautiful sight to see them in the bloom of life, leaving the circles of vice and folly—and confessing their Saviour, flocking to the house of the Lord—eager to hear His word from the Sacred desk—the Missionary Baptist are now holding a meeting, 15 was immersed yesterday . . . . All my children are now professors of religion . . . . My health is usually good—tho I am daily admonished that age is fast creeping on me—loss of eye sight, some front teeth, strength & activity, my hair looks to be the same, not many persons having arrived at 53 years old without some gray hairs to be seen . . . .

VIII. Letter of Mrs. Walter Raleigh Lenoir, Greenwood, Boone county, Missouri, September 29, 1852, to Selina Louisa Lenoir, Fort Defiance, North Carolina.<sup>38</sup>

Dear Sister Louisa, . . . .

Oct. 4th, . . . .

. . . would scarcely know Columbia now. Churches—two Female Colledges [*sic*]<sup>39</sup>—and a large fine Court House<sup>40</sup> with the State University which does credit to our county and state graded streets, with brick & planked side walks. the farmers are striving to improve their lands, stock of all kinds, and grains, they have organized a Society, which

<sup>36</sup>Mrs. Lenoir's son, Walter, married one of President Shannon's daughters. Hickerson, Thomas Felix, *Happy Valley History and Genealogy*, chart opposite p. 158.

<sup>37</sup>The Baptists and Methodists for many years jointly used a church erected in 1836. The Presbyterians had a church building by 1832, the Christians by 1841, and the Episcopalians not until 1872. *History of Boone County, Missouri* . . . . pp. 818-824.

<sup>38</sup>Letter from the University of North Carolina collection.

<sup>39</sup>This court house was completed in 1848. *History of Boone County, Missouri* . . . . pp. 172, 350.

will meet the last of this month,<sup>40</sup> even the Ladies are striving for Silver cups and Spoons, our near neighbour, Mrs. Hickman . . . is making a quilt with the expectation of getting a ten dollars [sic] cup, another lady has a pair of Blankets, another a carpet & a Lady in Columbia is making a Velvet Hexigon [sic] quilt, each square with a flower worked with cruel [crewel] on it. She is striving for the set of Silver, Coffee Pot, Tea Pot, etc. I am told that it is most beautiful.

The health of this country—has been good—considering the many inroads for disease, a great deal of Cholera has been on the Boats; passengers from all parts of the United States have been traveling West—going to St. Joseph which is destined to be a considerable place<sup>41</sup>—often stopping to see the Towns and Country—unfortunately some stopt [sic] that had Cholera in Columbia. They died, and some 8 or ten of our citizens<sup>42</sup>—two worthy Ladies, this was in August, since that time a good deal of Diarrhoea not many deaths, only among children. I was so unfortunate as to loose [sic] Anthony with Cholera in August. he was hired in Town at \$25.00 a month, it is a great loss to me, he generally made me \$1.00 every day that he worked he died in three days, the leaders of his arms and legs were drawn in knots as large as hen eggs—his eyes sunk deep in his head—he was large and fleshy when taken but in 3 days his flesh shrunk [sic] away to skin and bones—Old Dr Jewell is dead, he was superintending the building of a College in Liberty to which he had subscribed some Thirty thousand dollars and also bears his name—William Jewell College,<sup>43</sup> he was taken sick while on the wall

<sup>40</sup>Agricultural fairs declined in Missouri in the 1840s but the early 1850s saw a revival, with Boone county taking the lead. Lemmer, George F., *Agricultural Improvement in Missouri: 1830 to the Civil War* (unpublished master's thesis, University of Missouri), pp. 100, 118-119. The premium list for this particular fair is given in the *Missouri Statesman*, October 15, 1852, the week of the fair.

<sup>41</sup>St. Joseph was a favorite starting point for emigrants following the Oregon trail to the Far West.

<sup>42</sup>Cholera was mentioned in the *Missouri Statesman* at various times during the summer months, but it did not reach the epidemic stage.

<sup>43</sup>Jewell's career is described in a pamphlet by Judge North Todd Gentry, *Dr. William Jewell*, in the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia. Gentry points out that Jewell gave \$10,000 toward the establishment of the school. Mrs. Lenor's account of Jewell's death and funeral agrees substantially with other reports.

of the third story—the sun was shining very hot he was requested to leave, but I suppose for such great anxiety to hurry the completion of it that he remained until he was carried away, great respect was paid to his remains in bringing down the river and when he arrived at his home in Columbia—some hundreds of his acquaintances met to pay the last tribute of respect the procession of Carriages & Buggys [sic] alone that followed was a half mile long . . . the grave yard is on a farm 2 miles from Town which he has left to his little grandson Willie<sup>44</sup>—with his possessions in town which is valued at \$6000—he has also given him \$30,000 with some Slaves setting others Free, \$15000 more for the benefit of the College in the way of a Library-apparatus [sic] etc. . . .<sup>45</sup>

- IX. Letter of William B. Lenoir (son of Walter Raleigh Lenoir), Columbia, Missouri, December 13, 1852. Apparently written to a cousin, James Gwyn in North Carolina.<sup>46</sup>

Dear Sir

Yours dated Novr. [sic] 16th (containing a check on the Fulton Bank of New York for \$375. 35-100 was recd. day before yesterday, our Merchants will not give any premium now, they do not want it untill [sic] they start East, which will be about the middle of February, so I concluded to sell, and did sell, to one of our most responsible men for \$380.00—60 days after date. This is better than to have kept it untill [sic] our Merchants start for goods.  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent is the most

<sup>44</sup>Also the grandson of Mrs. Lenoir, William Boyle Jewell.

<sup>45</sup>The real estate holdings of Dr. Jewell apparently were not appraised when his estate was settled and for that reason no definite valuation can be placed on his estate. He was financially well off, however, as the records of the settlement of his affairs show. He freed one Negro and gave a slave mother and child to his grandson. Only \$3000 was given to William Jewell college for library and laboratory apparatus. Will of William Jewell, filed August 16, 1852, and Inventory of Estate, beginning August 18, 1852, Probate File 1126, Boone County Probate Court Records, Columbia.

<sup>46</sup>Letter from the University of North Carolina collection. The stationery on which this letter is written is headed by a cut of the University of Missouri.

they will give when they want to buy. Eastern exchange is very plenty in this country and our Merchants are generally rich.<sup>47</sup>

Above you have a very correct representation of the Mo. University located in this place. The Presidents house, to the left has been very greatly improved since the above cut was taken, when completed will be twice as large. Twill [sic] be a very handsome well arranged, as well as a costly building. The University cost \$85000.00 in the first place, besides some \$10,000 in the way of improvement since. The Chemical, Philosophical and other apparatus [sic], books, maps, globes &c. (a large collection) cost many thousands. In addition to this we have an Observatory on the right, just completed, this cost considerable.<sup>48</sup> The University stands near the centre [sic] of 22 acres of rich soil, beautifully set in blue grass and flowers. Tis thought that our Legislature (and that body meets today at Jefferson City) will make considerable appropriation for the purpose of further beautifying the grounds, a better fence and additional apparatus [sic]. There is now about 160 students. Revd. James Shannon, of the Christian or Reform Church is the President. There was and is yet considerable opposition to Shannon being in the Institution, some of the Babtist [sic] don't like it, most of the Methodist, and I believe all the Presbyterians. Not because he is not clever & competent, but because he is a great man and differs from them Religiously.<sup>49</sup> This is but the 3rd session (but fairly commenced) Shannon has been here and there is now 160 students, more than twice as many as ever was at any time before S. came here. We expect 175 before the session is out. The University as you no doubt are aware has an endowment of one hundred thousand, in a few more ses-

---

<sup>47</sup>Many western merchants bought goods directly in eastern cities and were constantly on the watch for cheap and convenient means of making payments. Although the difficulty of making payments lessened with the passage of time, merchants found this to be one of their major problems. Atherton, *The Pioneer Merchant in Mid-America*, pp. 104-108.

<sup>48</sup>See Viles, *University of Missouri*, pp. 22-78, for a description of the university in its early years.

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 54-55. This discusses Shannon's difficulties, revolving around religious problems and his very aggressive nature.

sions the Tuition fee will be nothing.<sup>50</sup> In addition to this we have 2 flourishing female Schools. The "Columbia Female Academy" and "Christian College." The latter has been mostly built and is entirely under the contrall [sic] of the Christian Churches. The building (when completed) will cost about \$17000.00 The house will be 100 feet long by 50 wide 3½ stories, and stands about the centre [sic] of a beautiful 11 acre lot, this building is just on the edge of the Northern boundery [sic] of the town, the University is on the south edge. The other female school is in town, tis a beautiful house & on a beautiful site. There is now about 200 young ladies in the 2 schools, & I have no doubt that in a few years the two schools will have 500. Besides the Mo. girls, we have some from Kentucky, Mississippi, Louisianna [sic], Indianna [sic] & Illinois, the first session has just commenced in the Christian College and we have about 100. This is a boarding school. Our town is improving, our population is increasing rapidly both in wealth and inteligence [sic], land is worth from 20 to \$50.00 per acre within say 3 to 5 miles of town, corn \$1.50 Bl [sic], pork \$4, Gross, Beef \$4.50 cwt. & 5, fine horses from \$125. to \$200. Mules high, chickens \$1.50 to 2.00 Dozn [sic]. Other things in proportion.

Ma's general health is good but she has not been very well lately. Sister Caroline (Mrs Russell) lives in town, her husband practices Law, has a small farm near town, is doing well, they have 3 children . . . Sister Julia (now Mrs Church) lives in St. Louis. Mr C. is doing well. He has been preaching for the Christian denomination in that city for 2 years. He has increased the number from 100, to 300 members. They had no church when Mr. C. went there, they now have a fine house completed & paid for, that cost \$17000.00.<sup>51</sup> The church will now increase Mr C. s [sic] salary [sic] from 1000. to at least 1500\$ a year. He will soon get \$2000, or

<sup>50</sup>The endowment for Missouri university reached \$100,000 in 1842, considerably in advance of the actual opening of the institution. *Ibid.*, p. 26. The tuition fee was not abandoned as Lenoir predicted, however.

<sup>51</sup>Samuel S. Church dedicated the First Christian church of St. Louis August 15, 1852. Scharf, J. Thomas, *History of St. Louis City and County* . . . . Vol. II, p. 1743. Scharf places the cost at \$25,000.



more. I expect a more popular man among his brethren never entered a pulpit. They have three children. . . .

Sister Ann Eliza's only child Wm. B. Jewell is a very promising boy about 8 years old. Dr. Jewell (his Grandpa) died recently and left him \$15,000.00 this with what his father left him will make \$20,000.00 besides his interest in fathers estate, and about \$15,000.00 that his aunt (the only surviving child of Dr J.) will leave him. She is the subject of Paralysis [*sic*] & no probability of a recovery.<sup>62</sup>

The next court will make me, William's Curator, 6 of the wealthiest men in Boone County are ready to go my security, men worth from \$10. to \$100,000. I of course did not need so much but I asked them to see how I stood among Capitalists as a business man. Dr. Jewell gave \$13000.00 to the aid in building a Theological Institution (called Wm Jewell College) located in Liberty in this state. Brother Walter expects to graduate in medicine next spring. He is now in St. Louis. He studied with me, & I think will make a good physician. He has not determined where he will locate. Bro Slater is going to the University from home, I do not know what he will do. Sister Louisa is still single, but not for want of good offers . . . . I am in pretty good health myself, but the trip to California and the practice of medicine for near 10 years, makes me look a little old my friends say, & I begin to feel a little so. I have 17 in [my] family including negroes and 4 students, and thank God we have plenty to live on and (if I can keep it) will have enough to educate my children, and here let me say to you Cousin James, If I and my children live and they prove to be the right grit, they will be well Educated If I have to exchange boots for shoes, cloth for Jeans, and a fur hat for a wool one. I am doing well in my profession, I am no egotist but we hear from each other so seldom you will excuse this much. Alexr Campbell of Bethany Virginia will preach in this place tomorrow, he is making a tour through this state for the purpose of raising more money

---

<sup>62</sup>Jewell left \$5000 to his daughter, Angeline A. Wilson, while the bulk of his estate went to his grandson, William Boyle Jewell. Will in Probate File 1126, Boone County Probate Court Records, Columbia.



for Bethany College has already got at least \$15,000.00<sup>53</sup> We have 4 very neat churches in this place, Baptist, Christian, Methodist and Presbyterian the finest (Methodist) is just opesite [sic] my house on Broadway. We have had preaching in some of the churches every day for more than two months and the Methodist are just getting in a good way, 22 additions to the Babtist [sic], 20 to the Christians, 1 to the Presbyterians (& tis said he will not stick) and about 20 mourners in the Methodist church. In addition to this we have been highly entertained for several days by a Babtist [sic] preacher from Kentucky. Lecturing on the subject of a revision of the Bible, King James translation. this is the proposition of the Bible union of N. York. To correct all the admitted errors.<sup>54</sup> Errors that the most learned commentators admit to be errors. In addition to this we have been highly entertained and I expect will be the balance of the winter by the "Columbia Liceum [sic]." We have some of our most talented lawyers and Doctors, some of the Professors of the University, and many of the students, I think this Liceum [sic] is hard to beat in any country if they have a poor President . . . .<sup>55</sup>

<sup>53</sup>Alexander Campbell (1788-1866) founded Bethany college in Virginia in 1840 and travelled widely in subsequent years to raise funds to support it. *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. III, pp. 446-448. Some of Missouri's Christian ministers were educated at Bethany. The *Columbia Missouri Statesman*, December 17, 1852, said that Campbell had spoken in Columbia the preceding week. His purpose was to solicit money for Bethany college to fulfill the pledge made by members of the Christian church in Missouri the preceding summer to raise \$15,000 to endow one professorship at Bethany college. The paper reported a subscription of \$300 in Columbia on the occasion of his speech, and a total for the State of \$15,000.

<sup>54</sup>This was the Reverend J. L. Waller. See letter in *Missouri Statesman*, December 31, 1852, signed "X. Y. and Z.," discussing Waller's arguments. Waller was a Baptist clergyman, author, and editor. His skill in debate made him a leading defender of Baptist doctrine. In 1852 he was elected president of the "Bible Revision Association" and held that position until his death in 1854. *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XIX, pp. 383-384.

<sup>55</sup>During the winter of 1841 the "Columbia Institute" was formed by the university faculty, townspeople, and students, and was a center of discussion for several years. Lenoir was an active member. The *Missouri Statesman*, December 17, 1852, carried a notice that the "Lyceum" would debate the Bible revision question which the Reverend Waller had presented, and promised that both sides would be given. The issue of January 14, 1853, reported a second debate on the subject by the Lyceum, with the decision on the debate going in favor of the side supporting revision. The Lyceum discussed many of the topics which were arousing public interest, such as spiritualism. Lenoir's reference to a "poor president" is not clear. He was not president of the Lyceum at the time, and he offers no reason why he should dislike the incumbent.

## MISSOURI AND THE WAR

## PART VIII

BY DOROTHY DYSART FLYNN<sup>1</sup>

"Sing a song of victory" has become the theme song of the American home today. In retrospect it seems unbelievable that three short years could effect such gigantic changes in those all-American institutions—the home and the home town. A casual stroll down any street in any town or city in Missouri, in fact in any part of the United States, bring these changes home with sickening reality. Everyone is in a hurry and everywhere there are uniforms—men and women, young and old, are wearing them. The young children, at first glance, seem much the same, but a visit to their homes will show you that they too are geared to war. The high school students, especially in the higher grades, show the changes that war has enforced on them. Most of the boys are not planning what they will do after graduation. They know. It will be some branch of the service for them. The girls are looking ahead to college, most of them, particularly as a means of doing their part in the war effort. College today for the girls is the means to an end—not a pleasant interlude bridging the years between high school and the adventure of marrying and having a home of their own or maybe a career. On any street you notice the appalling lack of young men, except those in uniform, and the significant number of older men and of women clerking in the stores, driving trucks and busses, doing jobs that a few short years ago would never have been open to them. A visit to stores and homes in Missouri gives you a kaleidoscopic view of civilian life in war time that is significant of the "all-out effort" of the great American public to meet a crisis with the spirit to win. The goal is victory!

The history of rationing is really the ABC's of the changes in civilian life. So realistically have we accepted

<sup>1</sup>DOROTHY DYSART FLYNN, a native Missourian, was graduated from the school of journalism at the University of Missouri in 1932. She is now a research associate on the staff of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

rationing (even with all the griping that is the great American privilege and means very little) that it is hard to realize that it was only two and a half years ago that the first item was announced on the ration list of the OPA. Now you hear children blandly talking about the OPA, the ration board, ration coupons, etc., as casually as though they had always been an integral part of civilian living. But it all began like this in 1942.

Tires—January 5, 1942

Automobiles—February 26, 1942

Typewriters—March 31, 1942

Sugar—May 5, 1942

Gasoline—in East, May 15, 1942; nationally, July 22, 1942

Bicycles—July 9, 1942

Men's rubber boots and work shoes—October 5, 1942

Fuel Oil—began October 1, 1942 and extended throughout the United States by March 14, 1943

Coffee—November 29, 1942 and removed from ration list, July 29, 1943

Heating stoves—in 30 states, December 19, 1942; nationally, August 24, 1943

Shoes—February 9, 1943

Processed Foods—March 1, 1943

Meats and Fats—March 29, 1943

---

The Missouri housewife really has her work cut out for her now. From morning 'til night she juggles points and tokens so that they'll balance with vitamins and calories. She plans her menus accordingly and then sallies forth to the store, whereas she used to depend on the delivery system. Then the fun begins, because after carefully weighing her tokens in order to get value received, she finds that many articles she had counted on are on the "temporarily out" list, so that marketing has become her big headache, requiring twice the thought and time. In March through June of 1943 potatoes were at a premium, but then the new crop came along and Mrs. Housewife was told to plan at least two meals a day to include potatoes. She did! They weren't rationed. "All the little piggies went to market" became a heyday for

the housewives in the last few months of 1943 and the spring of '44 with point values on pork becoming negligible.

THE IMPROVING WORLD

In days of old when knights were bold  
Ye little pigs were roasted whole,  
And lord and vassal gnawed on joints  
With never a thought of ration points.

But now the world's a better place—  
At least it is for the porker race,  
No more are piggies roasted whole;  
The law protects them—snout and jowl.

Each little pig can rest assured,  
That when it's killed it will be cured,  
Then rationed out, both lean and fat—  
What pig could ask for more than that?

J. D.

Many beef cuts came tumbling down. These reductions came as a surprise, since the OPA had indicated that point values on meat would be boosted steadily. Marketing of more livestock than had been anticipated was given as the principal reason as well as the fact that the new token system, which became effective February 29, 1944, cut the value of ration stamps one red point a week. The war food administration said that the adjustment in ration values was designed to help reduce stocks of meat, which together with other perishables were crowding the cold storage facilities. After one month of the new token system the OPA announced that "point dates" were off on both red and blue food rationing stamps. This was in line with the policy already adopted on shoes and sugar, to prevent buying rushes just before the coupon expiration date. Another factor was the tendency of customers to cash in their stamps for the new tokens which had no expiration date, thus creating a heavy drain on the supply of new plastic ration currency. Whatever the reason, the housewife considered it manna. Of course the day of reckoning will probably crowd them occasionally, for the new stamps only become effective every two weeks, instead of weekly, but for one week out of two, the American table

has a pre-war look which is stimulating to the ration-conscious but nevertheless hungry star boarder!

Most housewives would agree that not all the heroines are WACS, WAVES, SPARS, WAFS . . . . They would definitely include themselves in the list for from morning until night their day is one of substitution. From the time the alarm clock wakes her from dreams of real silk dresses, nylons, and a sumptuous dinner when chicken was a delicacy and not just a point saver, until she falls exhausted on her victory springs at night, the housewife knows only too well the grim realities of war on the "home front." Her average day in 1943 was something like this.

She dons her housecoat made of aralac, ceremac or some such victory material and her play shoes with plastic soles, clothes her children in similar materials that "can't take it" and prays that they will hold together until another shipment arrives. Then they all wash their teeth with brushes that sport substitute bristles, carefully picking the loose bristles from their tongues. Breakfast is pretty much as it always was since bread and cereals are plentiful and bacon and eggs aren't prohibitive either in price or points, at least toward the last part of 1943.

Housework finished the "little woman" scoots off to market to get while the getting is good. She chucks the baby in what the sales woman assured her were "water repellent" panties and squeaks down the street in the victory model. Then to the headache of ration books, silver pennies, plastic mills, and plastic tokens, "out of this" and "out of that" and "Lady, don't you know there's a war on?" and then home to another meal with dehydrated soup as a starter and chopped meat stretched with cereal or soybean as a main course.

Evenings are usually spent in, because the "jewels" who used to come in to take care of the children for 50c an evening are now working in defense plants, and gas coupons are always on the lean side. Occasionally she dons an L-85 model and ornaments herself with plastic or glass or strands of macaroni jewelry, and she and her husband play bridge with someone in the neighborhood, not because they particularly like either the neighbors or bridge, but because they are

accessible. Then home, and bedtime preparations including cleansing the face with cold cream and a 20 per cent luxury tax, pinning up the hair on toothpicks, hanging up clothes on unmanageable paper hangers, and so exhausted to bed! Yes, Mrs. Missouri housewife knows there's a war on, and that all this is much exaggerated and temporary. She's still keeping her home "up" and her family together and her sense of humor saves the day, because in spite of substitution or, rather because of it, she gets a laugh out of the predicaments in which she finds herself involved "just because there's a war going on."

That was in 1943, with some holdovers in the new year, but things began to look a little brighter by early spring. Bobby pins and hair pins began to appear on the market, and frozen fruits and vegetables while technically kept on the list of rationed foods had a "point free" rating. This move was taken to make as much cold storage space as possible available for meat. Peas, the highest rationed vegetables, became "less exclusive" in April, and eight other canned vegetables came off the ration list in May through June 3, including corn, tomatoes, beets, spinach, asparagus, leafy greens, blackeyed peas and garbanzo beans. Price Administrator Chester A. Bowles warned the housewife though that when the supply of 1943 pack "point bargains" is gone, "higher point values will have to be restored to spread supplies evenly through next winter."

#### GLEEFUL GROCERS

Sing a song of grocermen  
All around the town,  
Counting out their pretty stamps  
Green and blue and brown.

Figuring up the prices,  
Counting up the tax,  
Explaining to the customers,  
Certain grocery lacks.

Merry, merry grocermen,  
Rollicking with mirth,  
Romp through the gayest job  
On the gladsome earth.

N. B. C.

In 1942 and '43 thousands of women took over men's jobs in factories plus running a house and caring for children, and few were those who didn't admit the strain. Many quit their jobs or were frequent absentees, and industry and the country at large began to ask, "Can our women take it?" It was a vital question but 1944 finds millions of women still at work, many of them swinging two jobs a day, proving they can take it, all the while licking a lot of new problems invoked by war time living. The United States census shows that 16,400,000 were employed in October 1943 as compared with 14,300,000 in October of the preceding year. The problem of children and what to do with them is the pivotal question with many women. In St. Louis many working mothers are leaving their new babies in the hospital from a few days to several months since there is no one to care for the little stranger. Grandmother, the old standby, is running a riveting machine or doing some other kind of war work, father is in camp or overseas, and mother herself is on leave from her war job. While this is a temporary solution for mothers, it is causing a dilemma for the hospitals, crowded and understaffed as they are. The Jewish hospital in St. Louis remodeled its pediatric division to provide room for the new boarders with an isolation room constructed on the fourth floor to which babies are transferred after their mothers leave.

Union stations in both St. Louis and Kansas City have been practically converted into nurseries for traveling servicemen's offspring. Scores of mothers, tired and rumpled from long sleepless nights on the train, make for the women's rest room where warming milk, sterilizing bottles, and mixing formulas becomes the combined problem of the USO, the Traveler's Aid, Harvey's restaurant, and the Terminal association, none of which is prepared to perform the tasks individually or collectively. An official at the terminal in St. Louis when questioned on the situation said, "Say, if you find out how any other big station in the country is handling baby bottles, let me know?"

In Kansas City two more centers for school-age children of working parents were installed early in 1944 bringing the total to sixteen, plus nine nurseries. These are open from



7 o'clock in the morning until 6 o'clock daily except Sunday. These centers are sponsored by the OCD and are open to all children whose mothers are working. The federal government has provided funds for these child care centers wherever they are needed.

Missouri women are proving themselves worthy of the trust. They are invading all fields of men's work and doing a pretty good job. According to Mrs. Ralph Lewis of 1800 Jefferson Street in Kansas City, the only night truck driver at the Army medical depot, "I just had to learn to double clutch the big trucks and now there's nothing to it." That's the way with all the jobs. Simply a matter of learning to use a "double clutch" as a temporary war measure. As simple as that.

#### MISSOURI WOMEN "OVER THERE"

"Having a wonderful time, wish you were sharing it" seems to be the sentiments of the St. Louis girls serving with the WAC in overseas theaters. Typical of the St. Louis girls is Pfc. Marion Rodgers who enlisted in January 1942 and after basic training was sent with the first group of WACS to England. Extra training was carried on there, and after eight weeks she found herself operating a teletype machine which constantly clicked out secret messages and war instructions—and these secrets she kept to herself!

---

A Kansas City girl reserved a woman's privilege of changing her mind. She didn't want to be a "war widow" . . . just the next thing . . . so she joined the WAC, got a sergeant's stripes and went to Europe in a burst of patriotism, but also with the idea of "getting her man." The sergeant was Dorothy Fields, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Fields. When Mrs. Fields was asked if her daughter joined the WAC so she could be with her fiancé (now her husband) her mother laughingly replied, "Well, why do you think girls join the WACs?"

---

Another Missouri girl has been called "Bride of the Beachhead." She landed five days after the first troops in



Italy and tended the wounded in a stuffy tent whose roof had been pierced by flak and whose ridge pole quivered as shells whistled over and crashed on the beach hour after hour. But love found a way for a marriage ceremony and a five-day honeymoon. "Imagine! My bridesmaids were in soldiers' clothing, looking like a bunch of guerillas, and the music was furnished by one of our majors playing the accordian a little too hard on the down beat. . . . I got five days with my husband . . . the only complaint we had was that five days are—well, they're only five days." The "Bride of the Beachhead" is Lieutenant Ruth Griffard of Riversmines, Missouri. "This beach is one rough spot. We hear those shells going over almost all the time. But the ones we don't like the most are those which 'Pistol Pete,' that German 170-millimeter gun, shoots off from the hills at night. The air raids aren't so nice either."

Other Missouri girls who were in the first contingent of nurses to land on the fifth army's beachhead within German lines included redheaded Anne Graves of Columbia and Maxine Lykins of Albany. Tossed about on a light infantry landing craft, shifted from one vessel to another at night while at sea, and bombed continuously, they were so relieved to have the voyage ended that they paid little attention to the booming guns on the front or the planes zooming overhead. They had to lug their own barracks bags, dig their own slit trenches, and raise their own tents. Who says American women are pampered?

---

The Red Cross includes quite a number of Missouri girls overseas in both the Pacific and Atlantic theaters. Miss Mignon Hill Harrelson of Kansas City wrote her mother, "My life is a wonderful one, yet were I to describe our every day existence it would seem strange that we could thrive as we do. We are thankful for the simplest things, such as a warm bath, fresh clothes and a few hours sleep undisturbed. Being warm, actually warm all over, is something to sing about! We have enough to eat, although not a variety.

"I can honestly say that I wouldn't trade the work I am doing for the best job in the states, nor all the comfort or fun of home. You get something back, you really can't describe what it is, but it is there in your heart and you are supremely happy."

#### VICTORY GARDENS "DELUXE" IN 1944

##### EXPERIENCE TEACHES

Making a garden was lots of fun,  
And I've learned plenty by having one,  
Next year it therefore will comprise  
A fertile spot of such a size  
As comfortably to permit  
My wife alone to handle it.

W. E. Farbstein

Those amateur 1943 gardeners who stuck seeds in the ground and waited and waited and waited for them to grow into big strong healthy plants found that it took more than seeds, a garden plot, and lackadaisical hoeing and weeding to reap a harvest. They profited by their mistakes, blisters and aching backs though. They came to realize that victory gardens weren't just a fad but a vital part of the all-out war effort. With that in mind Missourians began toughening up their hands, rolling up their sleeves, and getting out their brawn early in the spring of 1944 with the determination to make every victory garden in Missouri count this year. In April President Roosevelt issued a plea to the backyard gardener. "I hope that every American who possibly can will grow a victory garden this year. We found out last year that even the small gardens helped. The total harvest from victory gardens was tremendous. It made the difference between scarcity and abundance."

The Missouri state victory garden council set themselves a goal of a 10 per cent increase in production for 1944. Mrs. F. J. Chapel, president of the Missouri federation of garden clubs, says that the women of Missouri last year had the staggering total of 63,000,000 quarts of goods canned in the

homes, plus another 600,000 conserved in community canneries and the unbelievable total of 55,500,000 pounds of fruits and vegetables stored for winter use. From these figures one would gather that Missourians took gardening rather seriously last year.

1943 victory gardeners, who last year were disappointed because hopefully planted seed didn't grow, have an ally this year in the state department of agriculture. It is testing all garden and field seed sold in Missouri. State law provided for seed tests, but the State had no place to do the work. Last year John W. Ellis, agricultural commissioner, secured a \$20,000 appropriation from the legislature for a laboratory. With all this aid it would appear that if points aren't lifted off canned fruits and vegetables this year it won't be the fault of Missourians.

---

One of the conspicuous evidences of this area's capacity to put out food supplies on the scale required by a global war was found when the stockyards in Kansas City forged ahead of Chicago for the first time, to become the nation's No. 1 cattle center. Sheep arrivals in Kansas City were the largest ever reported, surpassing the previous record of 1931 by about 86,000 head. Missouri farmers, in spite of floods which destroyed 700,000 acres, with difficulties of weather and shortages of farm labor and supply, and the unavoidable confusion and irritation incident to price control policies, were able to harvest from a larger acreage than in 1942 and produced crops valued at \$362,326,000. This year the spring crops occupied a 1 per cent larger acreage than in 1943, but the land given to corn remained exactly the same. Last year Missouri farmers overshot the call for increased livestock production to such an extent that they were asked to readjust their programs to provide more pastures and roughage to reduce the need for feed. "O woe is me," breathes the Missouri farmer. "Running a farm in war time is like a jig-saw puzzle. Get one piece in place and you've disarranged two or three others."

## YOU SAID IT, SOLDIER

They were standing around the piano,  
I was playing "My gal Sal,"  
I said "Soldiers, are you happy,  
Does this keep up *your* morale?"

A tall young blonde from Georgia  
Drawled, "Yes, ma'am . . . but we ain't blue  
And we're hopin' you civilians, ma'am,  
Keep up *your* morale . . . too!

Patricia Banner

## INDUSTRIAL AND FINANCIAL ENTERPRISE

The year 1943 was without question the most extraordinary yet experienced by American industrial and financial enterprise. Mobilization of industry for war time operation reached its peak, and in the closing months of the year, increasing emphasis was placed on production for offensive warfare as our military program kaleidoscoped itself into a clearer picture of quickening victory. The year ended with the materials shortage solved, production over the hump, and the manpower problem apparently near its turning point. The war production board, refusing to base plans on hopes of a collapse in Germany this year, called on American industry for an effort about 25 per cent greater than its record-shattering 1943 production of arms.

The opening of two new furnaces in the St. Louis area has sent steel production soaring to 103 per cent capacity. The reopening of the Iron Mountain mine at Ironton, Missouri, has opened to the steel industry new facilities for making steel which have already been built to a high point. With the return of this historic old mine to production, just eighty-four miles from St. Louis, sources of raw materials are easily provided which will present steel corporations with the opportunity for further development of this industry.

The Kansas City area has shared proportionately better than some other parts of the country insofar as participation in the war production effort is concerned. Consequently the income of many thousands of workers has been boosted sharply, with a great deal of cash earmarked for household

goods, furniture, homes, and motor cars when factories have been reconverted and begin turning out civilian goods in volume.

A far cry from the days when money houses were closing on all sides, Missouri banks are bulging with the depositors' "dough." And much of it comes directly to the bank clutched in the warm fists of people who are saving for a definite purpose.

While "shoot the works" is the byword of many newly rich, the "sock-it-away" school is gaining ground. In St. Louis, as well as in the country at large, banks report an increase both in the dollar volume of their savings accounts and in the number of their depositors. Some blithe spirits are tossing good gelt around like confetti, but another portion of the population is salting its money away for the day when we can again "go places and buy things" . . . They want to wait for the "real McCoy" and not pay big prices for an ersatz article now.

#### ALL-OUT WAR

Sister's in a war plant, making thingumabobs,  
Mother, Father, Cousin Bill all have munition jobs,  
Brother's fighting Heinies, over 'cross the pond—  
Uncle Doughbags slaps his chest because he bought a bond!

From the *Minneapolis State Journal*

---

Penicillin, the new, scarce, miracle drug that formerly had to be rationed even on the battlefield, has been put into large scale production in huge tanks manufactured by a St. Louis concern. These tanks range from 2500 to 25,000 gallons capacity. The John Nooter boiler works company of St. Louis was presented with the Army-Navy E for production excellence, since it had been previously thought that penicillin was a laboratory freak and couldn't be produced in anything larger than a milk bottle. A few short months ago scientific magazines were saying it could probably never be mass-produced. Some of the initial research on the best methods of producing penicillin was done at St. Louis university under a government contract.

Lieutenant Colonel Richard W. Coward, executive officer of the St. Louis ordnance district, who presented the award to Harry Nooter, president of the company, said "In the years since its discovery no one has been able to make it in quantity [referring to penicillin]. During the war it will save the lives of thousands of wounded Americans, and after the war will be a godsend to millions of people. The men and women of Nooter should be glowing with pride over the important part they have played in this great achievement."

#### AN ERA OF DESTRUCTION

An aroused and informed citizenry is needed to combat "too much talk and too little action" if this is not to go down as an "Era of Destruction" on the home front as well as the war front. Particularly in the larger cities is the youthful crime wave gaining ground and an irate public is demanding to know why and what is to be done about it. A national survey shows that in St. Louis, juvenile delinquency for girls is up 41.6 per cent while that of the boys is down 1.6 per cent. In Kansas City the girls show an even bigger average of 54.9 with boys up 43.8. Sex delinquency in young girls is the most noticeable trend. F. H. Miller of the staff of the National Probation association of New York City, who visited Kansas City in April to make a survey of juvenile agencies, says that young girls must be convinced that they can live more happily by conforming to the conventional moral standards. Since the war began the total number of sex delinquencies of young girls has risen 300 per cent!

With the boys the trouble seems more to be vandalism. In Kansas City, police investigation unearthed "The Clan" composed of a group of high school pranksters in the Country Club district. The chief crime of this "Clan" to date seems to have been in throwing stones through windows of homes in the area.

In St. Louis a series of seven burglaries and an attempted purse-snatching were solved when a 13-year-old "gang leader" told police that he and three companions had committed the crimes.

Scarcely an issue of any metropolitan paper appears without some mention of a teen-ager being in trouble, yet the country as a whole has been laggard about doing anything but talk. In Kansas City some organizations are getting into the effort toward combating this national problem. The police, the juvenile court, and the city welfare department are working together. The police and the juvenile court have forgotten their petty pre-war jealousies and are working hand-in-glove in an attempt to give first offenders every opportunity to "turn back to the paths of righteousness." The city welfare department is doing what it can to prevent juveniles from growing into delinquents. Their effort is twofold. First is the recreation division which supplies public recreation—boxing, volleyball, basketball, swimming, dancing, games, and programs of all sorts for youth the year round. The other half of the city welfare department's effort is being made through "community service councils" which were started in the fall of 1943. A community council is organized in each high school district with subcouncils in some elementary school areas. A paid community worker is supplied to help get the council going. These are organized on a neighborhood basis, since the needs of the community vary. Then the junior officers, a group of 120 children of elementary and junior high age with 400 auxiliaries, are doing everything possible to prevent "roughhouse stuff" in their communities. The sweeping Kansas City program includes thirty-nine summer playgrounds, six year-round community centers, and nine school community centers; two Swope park day camps, one for white children and one for negroes, and three "American Youth Clubs" where boxing is taught to youngsters 10 years old and up. Judge Cowan of the juvenile court says that the encouraging thing is that the citizenry is at last coming to recognize juvenile delinquency as a community problem and responsibility.

Since last December St. Louis has been using a special detail of policewomen attached to the morality squad to help curb the dismaying growth of juvenile delinquency, especially that of teen-age girls. Nightly from 7 p. m. to 3 a. m. these well-dressed and dignified policewomen make the rounds of



night spots until closing time, and then check the hotels. When they find teen-age girls in shady spots they call a special detail of the morality squad who take them to headquarters for questioning and keep them there until their parents or some responsible adult calls for them. "Pickings are lean compared to what they were when we started" declared Mrs. Elva Braun, who has been with the St. Louis police department for eighteen years. "In December the hotels and night clubs were full of youngsters. . . . They thought it was smart to go to places of doubtful reputation. They didn't realize what they were slipping into." Now each pair of policewomen picks up only a handful of girls every night. Some of those who were present in December have no doubt just changed their locale, but many juveniles have been completely removed from the list of delinquents.

---

With the fourth bond drive, community chest drive, and the "March of Dimes" only just completed, Missourians were still "willing and able" to do their share toward making the Red Cross 1944 drive an outstanding testimonial of their appreciation of what the Red Cross is doing for the boys fighting our global war. Missourians in rural communities, small towns, and cities dug deep in their pockets, while Kansas City, with a total of \$1,257,019.89 in gifts, exceeded its goal by \$62,019.89. St. Louis, as in every other drive conducted since the war began, went "over the top" in the Red Cross drive. People have come to appreciate what the Red Cross means, not only to their sons and daughters overseas, but to them, as a link between the two. Mrs. Ben Johnson of Kansas City passed on a letter that shows what her son thinks of the Red Cross, and that is probably the opinion of all the boys in the service. Mrs. Johnson said, "But I could not help shedding a few grateful tears when I read what the Red Cross is doing for all our boys so far away from home. And I thanked God that I have a Red Cross sticker in my window as I read his letter over and over. To our boys it must be like finding a little corner of home tucked away under another Red Cross sign against some Italian hillside or in the mud of some South

Pacific island or in any place where our boys go. There also goes the Red Cross."

A PINT SIZED GIFT

(But it comes from the heart)

I climbed alone the hill of Fear  
Stumbling all the way  
On reasons why I should turn back,  
And try another day.

But duty lay there straight ahead,  
And this is how I met it;  
My arm was bare, my blood dripped out,  
And all I did was "let it."

D. J. W.

Red Cross officials reported that Missourians are contributing in more ways than one. Blood contributions, through use of the mobile units, are way up. Kansas City was tossed another bouquet when the Red Cross announced that the Kansas City blood donor center outranks any others except New York in the number of "duration groups." Sixty-five groups are now registered, pledging 1400 pints of blood each week.

St. Louis papers constantly remind the public of the vital importance of this contribution with this daily notice:

RED CROSS BLOOD BANK

As you read the casualty list—stop and think! Could you have helped save some of those wounded? You might have if you had become a

BLOOD DONOR

Help keep the next list short!

MARCH FIFTEENTH!

The federal income tax produced a record national headache this year. For weeks before that fateful deadline, March 15, people talked, ate, and slept income computations. Everyone was tense and nervous, for this year people who had never even thought of it, had to "pay through the nose." More than one person was heard to breathe, "I'll be seeing you in jail. It's all just a muddle to me." Income tax officers

were swamped with huge crowds milling around as the deadline approached and the mails hit an all-time high for mailed returns. In the cities were long lines of taxpayers, standing for hours to file. So seriously did St. Louisans take their "incoming" that it was necessary for the Red Cross to set up an emergency first-aid station, for the income tax proved more than a headache to some. Several women collapsed and others fainted, and these made use of the station's equipment complete with stretchers, smelling salts, and aspirin.

Many said, "Whew, I'm glad that's over with. I won't think about income tax again until 1945," but that's just where many of them erred. Several times during the year they are going to have to wrestle with their "Estimated Incomes" for 1944, if they are included in the elite 30 per cent of the taxpayers whose income is not subject to withholding, or whose withholdings are not sufficient to cover their tax liabilities, or if they are self-employed with no taxes withheld from their income. These are asked to estimate their income in order for them to pay it in quarterly installments to prevent the ax from falling all at one time. Of course, in estimating they may be too modest in their calculations, and therefore will have to be penalized come next March, but on the other hand they may overestimate and find that their Uncle will give them a little back. It's all very elementary, eh Watson?

MEMO TO UNCLE SAM

The tax you plan for us next year  
Has made the nation gasp;  
To figure it will be, I fear,  
Beyond my poor mind's grasp.

I'll mail my weekly check to you;  
I'll promise not to pare it;  
Just send me back a buck or two  
When you can spare it.

PIER

---

Because of the cooperation between wastepaper savers and collectors, a serious paper shortage was alleviated early

in 1944, and the paper mills began to hum again. It was an all-out effort that put Missouri over the top in collections, with paper collectors simply swamped with huge donations.

A brown paper sack taken to his teacher by 5-year-old Tommy Lewis of the 81-year-old Moore school near Brookfield, Missouri, started the paper salvage campaign that brought nation-wide fame to the twelve pupils and their rural school teacher. The brown paper sack was the first bit of paper contributed to make a total of more than 140 tons, an average of 23,000 pounds per pupil. This average was the highest among 4420 schools in the United States which entered a national contest—and it was collected all in one week!

Katherine Brush, the novelist, wrote to the *Kansas City Star* what the Moberly citizens are doing for the benefit of troops passing through Moberly on the train. Rather, she praised them, and passed on the letter from her son, who was one of the soldiers.

"Ready and waiting for us at the station was a little group of girls with cookies, doughnuts, magazines and cigarettes, which they passed to us through the windows.

"It really felt good. Most of us were pretty low, partly because of the long, dirty, cramping journey, and because of the nervous suspense, never knowing where we were going or what we were heading into; and because of the curt treatment we had received elsewhere on the way. We felt forgotten, spurned, and despised, and it was really wonderful to find out there were some people who thought soldiers were human.

"It was particularly heartening just then, because a few stations before that we had been pointedly ignored by everyone at the station. We were calling out, trying to find out where we were, and not one person replied, although many stared at us. . . . so you can see how much that little stop at Moberly meant to us, and how different and fine the treatment there was."

This project has become county-wide, farmers and residents of other towns contributing doughnuts, milk, eggs, and cooking fats. It's a grand way to say "Thanks to the Yanks."

INCIDENTS AND COINCIDENCES<sup>1</sup>

Two young girls were recently discussing the return home of a wounded veteran with whose picture had appeared the information that he was "back home from Sicily with a Purple Heart."

"But what I can't understand," said one, "is how he can go back on active duty if he has such a bad heart."

---

A young St. Louisan six feet and nine inches tall got his draft notice and reported for his examination. He was found in perfect physical condition but too tall.

He has been recalled three times to see if he has shrunk any!

---

And the draft board at Columbia got a big chuckle out of this one. A selective service registrant was rejected at the induction center because of illiteracy. When he was returned his mother rushed into the local draft office to find out why her son had been turned down. The board officials explained that his education was not sufficient for the army.

"Oh, I'm so relieved," she said. "I've been so worried. I thought surely it was something serious."

---

Grandma McCollum has lived on a farm near Brookfield all her life and regards the changing world with some indifference. A neighbor inquired about her granddaughter who is employed in a war plant in Kansas City. "Edna's digging graves," Grandma told the astonished neighbor, who was relieved when Grandma McCollum added, "Edna told me last night she was on the 'graveyard shift.' Poor child, that must be an awful job for a girl."

---

An attractive young woman approached Irma Wagner's desk at the International institute in St. Louis and requested help in translating a foreign language. She explained the boy friend was in Hawaii and had included a foreign phrase in his letter.

---

<sup>1</sup>These anecdotes of Missouri and Missourians were gathered from the metropolitan newspapers of the State.

Miss Wagner looked at the phrase, "evol dna sessik," studied it a moment, then smiled and handed it back with the suggestion:

"Read it backwards."

---

It was the last hour of the last day in a busy metropolitan city in Missouri.

"Ah," sighed a weary taxpayer, dropping into a chair before the deputy collector. "I'm dead tired. I've been waiting in line for hours to get this far."

"Brother, you should talk," retorted the equally weary deputy. "You think you're tired, when we've been waiting for you since January 17."

---

They'll look into this next winter!

The St. Louis county fuel oil rationing board received the following plea:

"May I call your attention to a fuel oil problem which I feel deserves consideration? I have found from personal experience that my doctor's office is inadequately heated and I would appreciate your giving him an additional ration."

---

#### IN MEMORIAM

We are being warned "This is only the beginning" as the casualty lists steadily mount. Pertinent to this are excerpts from a letter that Captain Robert M. White, II, of Mexico, Missouri, wrote his father, publisher of the *Mexico Evening Ledger*.

"Dear Dad,

I have just received the December 9th Weekly Ledger. It is an historic issue for on page one are pictures of the fourteen Audrain county lads who have met death in the war to date.

But there is one thing I didn't understand. The headline over those pictures read: "AUDRAIN COUNTY MEN WHO HAVE LOST THEIR LIVES IN SERVICE." People lose um-

brellas, golf balls and at poker . . . but men in service don't "lose" their lives.

They GIVE their lives.

Our cause today is not "to make the world safe for democracy" or any other pat phrase lifted from some politician's speech . . . it is rather to follow the footsteps of another Young Man who long ago fought for His cause and did not hesitate to give, not lose, His life . . . ."

---

Lieutenant David W. Stamper, a marine pilot, would approve his family's choice of a memorial to him. It is a living memorial that will benefit the young men coming after him. The creation of this \$50,000 David Stamper memorial foundation will provide scholarships for male graduates of the Moberly junior college, from which Lieutenant Stamper was graduated, who wish to pursue their education, preferably in engineering, chemistry or physical science. Ninety-five per cent of the net income from the principal will be used, the other 5 per cent to be added to the principal each year. The funds for the memorial were provided by Lieutenant Stamper's parents, Mr. and Mrs. H. H. Stamper, sister, Frances Anne of Moberly, and a brother Howard of St. Louis.

---

Now it can be told . . . the story of a slim American farm boy of Columbia, who, when only a few yards from safety, drowned rather than cry for help and give the position of his American and British friends to the enemy.

Sergeant Estel I. Nienaber was the crew chief of a glider which broke away from a transport and was forced down over enemy territory in Burma during a night air invasion.

Sergeant Nienaber had never learned to swim and when the group reached the river, he and six other non-swimmers were to be helped across to the other bank which was in the hands of Allies.

Halfway across, the swimmer escorting Nienaber became tired and went under when he halted to take off his shoes. When he came up Nienaber was twenty feet downstream.



He started swimming rapidly toward the crew chief, but it was too late. He saw Sergeant Nienaber looking at him with lips clamped together, then he sank below the surface without making a sound.

## MISSOURIANA

A Warrensburg Family During the Civil War

Music Under the Stars

Buy at Your Leisure—and Your Risk

The Official Manual of the State of Missouri

Missouri Miniatures—George Washington Carver, Henry Shaw

Missouri Scrapbook

---

A WARRENSBURG FAMILY DURING THE CIVIL WAR

The author of the following two letters was Deborah Cass Silliman, the sister of General Lewis Cass. She was born in Exeter, New Hampshire, in 1781-2 (?) and moved with her family in 1800 to the Muskingum valley in Ohio. After her marriage to Wyllys Silliman about a year later, she lived in Ohio until a few years prior to the date of her letters.<sup>1</sup>

Warrensburg, August 24, 1862.

To my dear Elizabeth, my sister Munro, Brother George & all my dear relatives—

I have not had the opportunity of writing to you for months—the mails have all been stopped, on this route, we did not even get the papers, unless accidentally by a traveller—Oh! I have thought of you so much & would have given worlds to have been with you, in the "Happy Valley—" <sup>2</sup> You have all read of "wars, & horrors of wars" among christianized civilised, & savages, but I cannot convey to you the horrors of this one—neither could you imagine it—no! never—our little town has from the commencement, been a battle field, from a still, moral quiet, place it has been a thoroughfare for soldiers, jay-hawkers—bush whackers Lanes Assassins & marauders from the first of the contest and we have almost waded in blood—citizen after citizen of the most peaceable quiet character, have been shot down in the streets, Seven in bed with their families, without a moments notice—they have been arrested without one charge against them & dragged off to the fortress at St. Louis—& lain for months, & many have not returned, but left them [their families] without a protector & unprovided—the most of the men of this place went into the army at the first commencement—every lawyer in the place, & physicians, merchants, &

---

<sup>1</sup>The genealogical information concerning the Silliman and Cass families was contributed by Mrs. Bertha D. Rambo of Tulsa, Oklahoma, who is the great, great-granddaughter of Mrs. Silliman, in her letter to Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary, State Historical Society, March 7, 1944. Mrs. Rambo is the donor of these two letters to the Society.

<sup>2</sup>The "Happy Valley" to which Mrs. Silliman refers is the Muskingum valley in Ohio.

indeed every class of business—so that it has been suspended & men, those who are left are compelled to be perfectly idle—Oscar does not go into his Office indeed there is no call [*sic*] for it—for no law exists but military law. the males of this place & county, are absent in Prices Army—Oscar has never been in the army, I never would consent, I came here to spend the remainder of my days with him, if he had gone into it, they would soon have been ended, he came very near being drafted, by [the] Government; we were all in great trouble, for we knew he had not Physical ability 8 or 10 years ago, in going to Lexington, he met with an accident—which caused a rupture of the bowels; since when he has never had the same strength, or enjoy[ed] his health—Whilst in despair, & having lost all hope of escape, without his knowledge, I sent for the commanding Officer, of a Federal force, (encamped, within 300 yds, & partly on our premises, a force of 500 men—& whose white tents 250 in number, were ranged along our borders, making a beautiful appearance.) a Major. Banroff, a Prussian, a gentleman, to the hearts core, bless him with every blessing—I told him the history of my family & misfortunes, that he was "my only son & [I] a widow," he told me at once that he should escape the draft. I had a certificate made out by the army surgeon, of want of bodily ability, had not I reason to bless him? when Oscar came home, I presented him with the certificate he could scarcely realize it, for there was not one man in the place but those that age exempted, but one under the plea of "not able bodied! that escaped—We have never left the place, as all other families, but one, have for temporary security, as different predominant parties, came into the place some for longer, or shorter time; the war here has been carried on with the most bitter, & sanguinary feelings—, No! we have staid [*sic*] thro all the fright & horror, as I told them it was best, from the first to face all the danger, than to flee from it—our lives were in no greater danger, that we had no where to go—where we should be any better off, & by staying we might protect the property—all who did go, met with great losses & gained nothing—we have always escaped, we have been prudent in speech, & accommodating—Oscar is very much respected by every party, he is known to be peaceable & ready to help any one who are in trouble of either party or side, 500 Federal soldiers, those who were encamped so near, came to our well an inexhaustible one, for all their cooking, & drinking water, 5 weeks, & never was there a disrespectful word or act—committed by them— I frequently sat in the yard by the door, they always raised their caps in the most respectful manner—they were from Iowa, & Illinois—many of them knew Lewis, personally, & came in to look, at his likeness hanging in our parlor—one of their Officers who

\*The original of the portrait to which she refers was her brother, General Lewis Cass. He was the first prosecuting attorney of Muskingum county, Ohio. At the beginning of the War of 1812 he raised a regiment and marched in the defense of Detroit and then fought throughout the rest of the war. He served as territorial governor of Michigan for eighteen years until he was appointed secretary of war in the cabinet of President Jackson. He was later senator from Michigan, ambassador to France, and secretary of state in the cabinet of President Buchanan.

knew him—came in to our parlor to make some enquiries of Oscar; observed, & told of his acquaintance, Oscar told him of the relationship, & many came here to see me, & looked upon me as a wonder, being out here in Missouri, amongst the "Border Ruffians"— We are all ready prepared to Start to Arkansas,<sup>4</sup> to stay till the remainder of the war, if the Federals get possession, & the bloody conflicts come in this part of the State. it has been quiet here, for 48 hours, night before last 50 bushwackers encamped in our grove all night, they came in after dark, & left at day light—about 200 yds of the house, they did us no injury, they came to watch for a company of State Militia, that were expected here, if they had met them there would have been a bloody battle in sight of the house—but the Militia heard of it in time & [manuscript torn] evaded(?) them they are desperate men & fight to the death My dear relatives, it troubles me that I cannot write in a plainer & neater stile [sic]—my sight is very much impaired—not a joint on my fingers but has been seriously affected by the attack of paryllis [sic]—it is so, or not at all—my dear Sister Munro I sympathise [sic] with you deeply in your great trials & misfortunes, I hope and trust you will be sustained under them—how gladly I would be with you to help comfort & support you—I have lost all hope of ever seeing you again in this world—it may be you will never hear again from me—it is most likely we shall go to Arkansas—we have all got tired out with this constant excitement Oscar has done not an hours lucrative business since the war broke out, as I told you there is no law in force, but military, & that brings us no bread—he is living in his past earnings, [sic], & they are almost exhausted—he thinks he can find something to employ him that will bring us in our bread & meat. I wish this to be sent to all my relations to read, & to you my dear Elizabeth, I trust it to send to my dear Jane, if living; which I fear is not the case, I received your interesting letter—commenced an answer when the mail stopped. I now avail myself of the first opportunity to reply—write to me immediately. I would like much to hear from you all once more—but it must be before the strife begins, which is said will take place, so soon as the new troops unite with them—send me my brothers daguerotype [sic]. it would give me great pleasure there is not an artist of any description, nearer than St. Louis write of every one of my relatives, particularly of my dear Jane send it to her without loss of time, if living. I want to hear of Maria & family, of Mary & every one—tell me of Charles<sup>5</sup> and Samuel—tell dear Charles I received his letter from Henry County, & was very much grieved that I missed seeing him—I wish much you would enquire for Wm Cummings widow, she did live in Dresden, go to her if you can find her—remember me with much love to her, tell her, I will write to her—that I have something I wish to send her—my dear relatives, one & all,

<sup>4</sup>Instead of going to Arkansas, she and her family went to California where she lived at Watsonville until her death at the age of eighty-six.

<sup>5</sup>Her grandson, Charles, to whom she refers as being in the next county, was General Charles C. Gilbert of the Union army.

my dear Sister Munro, & brother George—farewell, it is not likely you will ever hear from me again—Scouts have just come in— they say in a few hours, in all probability there will be a battle within a very short distance, of this place—between the Southern troops and Iowans—Heaven help us—farewell, your Sister

---

Warrensburg Johnson Cty [no date]

My dear Brother

The very fact of this application contains, must convince you of the necessity of it, I cannot describe our situation I will not harrow your heart, by a description of the horrors of it. I will chiefly confine myself to telling you, that now, near my 80th year, I am suffering for the necessities of life; & the causes of it; & if it had been occasioned by any acts of our own, or brought about by extravagance, I never could make it. I am likewise helpless & require constant care, I had a parylisis [sic] of the left side, was considerably affected, partially lost my speech; 6 months ago, I sat by the window with my hand spread out on it a very large & heavy one—the spring broke, it fell with all its force, on it and injured it, to such an extent I have lost the use of it, I cannot feed myself, dress, or undress and have to be waited on altogether; & to add to the trouble a little Negro girl, who [sic] Oscar bought, gave \$650 for purposely to wait upon me 6 years ago, & gave her absolutely to me, was enticed off by the Soldiers, they encamped on our premises, were constantly round our door, & from the time they first came, they never ceased importuning her to go to Kansas, till 2 months ago she ran off—she came back in a few days, but she was so demoralized I would not take her— 4 years ago, I was offered \$700 for her— This place is now swarming with runaway slaves; what is to become of them we cannot foresee, they are, a great evil; all those who have returned to their masters, are, refused, they will not take them back again; we have a woman left with two children, that will not leave.—Ann has 3 children, the eldest of which was 4 years last August, the negro womans 2 still under that age making 5 children, in one family but little over 4 years of age—from that cause, alone I find it to be impossible to have the care I require, my trials are very great, we have 12 in family, we find it very difficult to feed so many. Oscars situation is pitiable, we have tried to struggle thro without asking the aid of any one till he can resume his profession some time it appears to be a vain attempt, tho' he perseveres with all his energy & tries to keep up his spirits & hopes; Yet his hands are tied completely, he is in no business, living on what he had laid up: he was exempted from drafting, as not being "able bodied," caused by an internal injury; No collection can be done, not a civil Officer, Sheriff or any other dare fulfil the duties of their Office, the civil law has to give way to Military, No Court has sat since the commencement of this war, from no source can the least amt due be collected; could it be, he has enough due in this county, from clients, to support his

family 3 years. there was a branch of the Union Bank of St Louis, established here, he was one of the Directors, & the Attorney, he owned \$1500 in stock he had laid by for an emergency, the bank was broken up & driven off, when the Soldiers came here, now, he can neither obtain his fees, & it is impossible to tell when he can; the President of it, when in operation, was here last week—he told him, he would use his influence to have his fees paid him, \$850, by individuals who had had an interest in the bank, when in operation. he came to learn what he could in relation to the bank for the future benefit of its stockholders, I think it will be established again, at some future day, that Oscar will not finally lose it, & that he may possibly sell it a [at a] discount, in the Spring which he surely will, if in his power, the bank will go into operation in this place when it resumes, he can then make it up. He drew re t for 3 small houses, one for \$150 a year, the others, 60 each they were taken possession of to quarter the Soldiers: he owned \$4500 [\$45.00?] worth of law books, & two Offices the soldiers were quartered in the Offices; the books, safe & furniture, scattered; he is County Attorney, has been 12 years, there are \$1500 due him, not a dollar can be obtained—no taxes are paid into the treasury, nor has been during the war—Johnson, is a secession County, there is not a lawyer left in it but Oscar 7/8 of the males of this county went off into the Army, & left their families scattered, most of them going back to other States to their relatives, some on foot carrying their little children, the others following with their bundles in their hands, women driving an Ox team, with what little furniture they dare to stop long enough to tumble in, to flee for their lives from the bushwhackers—there were 8 shot down 14 miles from here, in cold blood who were just starting for the east 4 or 5 weeks ago, one of them was a man aged 73—& a lad of 12 years—that you may rely upon as true. Many of those persons, who have left this part of the county, supplied us with provision to pay for business my son had done for them, which we now lose the advantages & comfort of—he is now engaged in defending an Officer, a Federal Capt Jackson, before a Court Martial, for disobedience of orders & other charges, it has, & will employ him ten days—it must be gratuitous on his part, but he would rather dispense with compensation, than sit idle in the house, which he has to do the chief [part?] of the time, with his book in his hand, he has not physical strength to doing labor, he cannot engage in any business, as there is none done in the place but trafficking [in] a few dry goods, & other indispensable articles; provision is very high, we just make out to live from hand to mouth, we drink rye Coffee and Sassafras tea, sweetened with the Shorgam [sic] molasses, we cannot even afford potatoes; we had a large fine garden every year, raised an abundance of vegetables, both for summer & winter, the soldiers stripped every inch of plank on the place to make floors for their horses to stand upon, we had a fine bearing orchard, of the choicest fruit, apples, pears, plumbs, peaches, nectarines, apricots cherries with all other smaller fruits, they left it bare exposed to the road, it was bearing fruitfully—they left it open to their horses & cattle, scarcely a tree is left, but an inch of fence round our premises of 7 acres of beautiful ground with

a large grove of 300 trees back of the house, they cut every tree down, pulled down a \$500 smoke house & all our other outhouses, they took our Carriages & harness, that Oscar bought on my account, took our carriage horses, & our dear little boys ponies—matches, so gentle a child of six years old could ride them, & so many other depredations, I would not tire you to read them,—our little boys have not been to school since the war commenced,—there is none kept, nor preaching—the churches, 4 good ones, made use of by the Soldiers—their horses or themselves. Our children have been entirely bare foot ever since the first of April, they just put on shoes that they got them selves by riding the soldiers horses to water, they keep them on our lots & our stable lots near here—& put up little pens for them near us & them their camp 150 tents are on the lots we live on—it would be very humiliating to me [to] be employed so, if there was any other way, it is not that they [the children] are not fitted for higher employment, it is because there is no other—& it is better to do that than suffer or ask help from others we have inculcated their doing any thing that is honest & necessary, & that does not expose them to bad companions, they have procured a little hand waggon, which they draw themselves, & have furnished all the wood since shortly after the war commenced; better, or more promising children, never lived Wyllys the eldest, reminds me strongly of his Grandfather—my dear brother, it is hard for me to bear all this in my last days, I try to be resigned, & “say Gods will be done,” I fully believe that all these trials are for the best, & as such we ought to bear them. these evils I trust will all be remedied after peace is made & Oscars difficulties & privations will end—his profession will soon obtain him a comfortable support for his family, he is considered the best lawyer this section of country, the Judgeship of this District was twice offered to him, he has the confidence of the public as an honest & successful advocate [It] would have been a sacrifice to have accepted it, his profession avails him, in regulations, \$3000 % Annum, this place has become the head Quarters of this District, Genl Brown is the commanding Officer, the telegraph is in operation here, the Rail Road extends now, but 24 miles east from Warrensburg, is coming on rapidly, by the 1st of March, it will be completed to this place, they are pushing it with all their powers—Syracuse is the terminus—Johnson is considered the 2nd best county in the state, a fine Agricultural body of land, after the completion of the Rail road, & peace is again established, the county will fill up again, it will become more prosperous than ever, in this county he has 7 fine farms of 160 acres, unimproved, prairie land, he will put some of his property on market as soon as the Rail road brings purchasers in— it was a fortunate location for him, before the war, having acquired property rapidly, but very much the reverse during it— but 6 families are now in the place, who were here before the war. they have fled at different times for their lives, on the report of bushwhackers, or Jayhawkers coming into the place—the families now in it, are Union families from the country, who came in for protection to from the troops & took up their residence for the time being, in the houses of those who left them. I passed such a night about



2 weeks since, as I never wish to know again—about 10 o'clock, we had all retired to bed, the lights all out, & still as the grave, [firing?] rapidly & constantly commenced, appeared to be approaching Oscar jumped out of bed came to us & told us to get quickly up—lie right down on the floor under the beds,—neither speak nor move, the balls whistled by, & against the house, we did not dare speak, nor breathe, lay there till we saw a bright light shining on the window, which we discovered to be a house on the next lot but one, a large fine frame house, which was burnt to the ground with every thing in it, the enemy fled under cover of the night to the woods— I am very tired of this war, & I want to end my days in peace, how I do want to be with you in your "Happy Valley," as I call it, I know of no other place where we could find it—but let us go where we may, it is literally true we must go in a road waggon, drawn by Oscar—the horses are all pressed in the service, & carriages taken from their owners.—

#### MUSIC UNDER THE STARS

Dust ruffles and high buttoned shoes brushed along the new path of beaten red cinders. The evening coolness that followed a June day in St. Louis accentuated the excitement that mingled with the growing crowd. This was the opening of the summer season of Uhrig's Cave in 1886.

Women sparkled from beneath perky bonnets and men with opera hats and flowing ties nodded approval at the changes from the preceding season. The gaslights burned much more brightly; chairs, walls, and the stage fixtures had all been repainted. Long rows of green plants in the audience were additional novelties.

Uhrig's Cave originally had been the vaults that Joseph Uhrig had constructed in the fifties in which to store his beer. Later he added a hall for dancing but it did not become popular until in the sixties when Christian Nunz leased the Cave and introduced regular garden concerts. A fine orchestra and the added attraction of the famous beer brought by the score red-cheeked German immigrants and their plump wives who had recently fled from oppression abroad.

At first the native Americans eyed the newcomers askance. Sunday was not a day to be enjoyed but to be lived through. Puritanical traditions died hard and Americans

were to be seen there only before elections. Gradually the lilting melodies and good food crumbled their prejudices, however, and Uhrig's Cave, as it continued to be called, became a favorite amusement spot in the city. The new citizens were adopted and St. Louis itself became well known for its hospitality, gaiety, and music.

Other gardens blossomed in the southern part of the city. Music and food are always irresistible attractions and the Camp Spring garden became a mecca for all gourmands. The famous garden sausages richly earned their wide reputation.

But for fine concerts, Union Park was superior to all others in south St. Louis. From 1862 to 1868 the park, originally part of a farm, was a welcome spot for relief from St. Louis heat. Many old trees offered coolness found nowhere else; wide flower beds eased the burning eyes as well as the soul, and thick-grassed terraces offered long walks. From May to October concerts were held out of doors every Sunday and often during the week. The best orchestras of the city appeared, Suater's, Waldauer's, Vogel's, and Keller-mann's. Lodges and societies held their festivals in the park. In 1868 the Grand Army of the Republic held its celebration of the fourth of July there.

Many of the summer gardens, however, had disappeared by the early seventies. The purely musical and food attractions were not completely satisfactory and other summer gardens arose offering not only the customary small orchestras but added plays and other theatrical productions.

Some summer theater performances had been performed indoors for short runs as early as the fifties, but the outdoor theater came later. An early appearance was that of William Koser's company in Washington garden during the summer of 1866. There it offered some very good performances after an outstanding series of seasons in the Apollo theater. However, it was not until the last decades of the century that the summer garden with excellent stock companies came into its own.

Under the managership of Pat Short, Uhrig's Cave offered the Gilbert and Sullivan operettas while they were still at their height in England. In 1886 the first part of the season was stalked by misfortunes. An opera company, which had been contracted for, changed its name, dropped its prima donna, and opened in New York instead. But after a substitution of a Mexican orchestra for a week, the Thompson opera company appeared, to the cheers of all reporters.

One music critic stated of the *Mikado*: "There are not more than two extraordinarily good voices in the cast, but all are tuneful, well suited to outdoor singing." The *St. Louis Republican* complacently concluded that, "Uhrig's Cave now outranks any summer garden in this country, both as to the artistic character of its entertainments and as to the eminent respectability of its audiences."

Later productions included *The Musketeers*, a play full of wandering soldiers disguised as priests, convent maidens, and the usual theatrical unreality of the eighties, *Fra Diavolo*, and *The Queen's Lace Handkerchief*. When the *Pirates of Penzance* appeared the fine costuming was especially applauded. Despite the sentimental tones of "Ah, Leave Me Not to Pine," or the "Policeman's Lot is Not a Happy One," the audience declined as the *Pirates* run drew to a close, due probably to the St. Louis July heat, as one critic said. Yet a seven weeks period without rain was partially responsible for the widespread popularity of the outdoor amusements of Uhrig's Cave.

The season of 1887 was less calm. Unexpected showers were the usual intermittent offering for a good part of every week. The costumes often did not arrive and the rivalry between two actors of the previous season flowered into incipient quarrels during the summer of 1887. The *Republican* critic wondered why one feminine singer insisted on pronouncing "hostage" as "husstage." The practice of kissing on the stage brought forth the loudest criticism. One reporter parodied the executioner of the *Mikado* to express his feelings:

The actors and the actresses who slobber on the stage,  
I've got 'em on the list, I've got 'em on the list.  
I'll gum their lips with mucilage and dump 'em in a cage,  
They never will be missed, they never will be missed.  
There's the prima donna, who the squalling tenor fain  
would mash,  
And plants a dozen sounding smacks beneath his false  
mustache.  
That bird of prey, the baritone, who hugs the chorus girls,  
And interrupts a barcarolle while he his arm uncurls,  
The actress who before the world is aching to be kissed—  
They're all down on my list—you bet they won't be  
missed.

The programs continued to be varied, however, with Gilbert and Sullivan's works indispensable for repertoires. The *Mikado* continued to be popular, accompanied by other composers' works such as the *Merry War*, the *Grand Duchess*, and the *Beggar Student*. The company at Uhrig's Cave also presented *Ermine* after a year's run in New York. Schnaider's garden company at the same time was presenting Gilbert and Sullivan's *Ruddygore*, while the reporter wondered if the Southsiders would think it as popular as it had been in Boston. By its advertisement as of questionable worth, it had rather a long run. The third summer theater, the Paragon, was offering *Olivette*. With three open-air opera companies flourishing, the musical tastes of the city must have been well cared for.

Nevertheless, the weather continued to be a constant menace to the gardens. Schnaider's, like Uhrig's, was originally a brewery to which a garden had been added. In the late sixties a New Orleans orchestra played under the direction of a Mr. Starke from Dresden. Yet the later lessees in spite of their business experience lost heavily after three summers of rainy Sundays.

In the closing years of the last century and the first decade of the twentieth, a few summer gardens continued to flourish, bringing stock companies with a personnel consisting of artists with a national reputation. But the summer

garden came into its own with the inauguration of the municipal theater in 1919. Supported by the city, music for the people appeared in its best surroundings, the out-of-doors.

#### BUY AT YOUR LEISURE—AND YOUR RISK

To the thousands of unwilling listeners and readers beckoned by the hands and eyes and persuasive voices of prewar salesmen to "come buy, come buy," the prudish reserve in advertisements in the last century offers a distinct shock and perhaps pleasure. The attention of a possible customer was not clutched by the strangleholds of irresistible enticements or promises of perfect happiness following only one purchase, with the sole exception of the magic patent medicines.

Merchants advertised more as a matter of form and less because they felt it was good bait. The design seems not to have been to catch the reader's eye by the ad but to spare finances as much as possible by a minute notice of the goods to be sold. Another method of pinching pennies for the merchant was to run the same ad during a long period of time, rather than to have numerous ones for a short time each. The specialty of the house, whether it be lard oil or log chains, thereafter appeared in issue after issue reiterating the same amount for sale. This practice often led to incongruities when "Spring goods, just arrived," were still being advertised in September.

Using a very small type, it is rather remarkable how long a list of goods could be made in an inch space. A jeweler in the St. Louis *Daily Missouri Republican*, November 1, 1849, respectfully notified the public that he had an assortment of "fine gold curb, fob and guard chains, gold pencils, pens, toothpicks, miniature cases, thimbles, studs and specs, silver cups, . . . coral and bells, . . . purses and steel trimmings."

Prices were rarely quoted; instead the reader was to come in at his leisure and browse. As one clothing store owner stated: "His goods are gotten up in their usual elegant style, and cannot fail to give satisfaction to those who favor him with a call." Yet he seemed not too certain of the result

when he added: "Citizens and strangers are solicited to call, examine and judge of goods and prices before purchasing elsewhere."

Country newspapers not only stated that goods would be sold "very cheaply for cash" but also listed the items a farmer might bring in for barter. Straw bonnets, bed ticking, scythes, and loaf sugar moved across the counter in exchange for beeswax, tow linen, and tallow.

Goods just in from the East received top billing. A gunsmith having just returned from New York proudly solicited patronage for the large stock of "Shot Guns, Rifles, . . . Powder Horns, . . . dram Bottles, . . . Spy Glasses, Hunting Knives, Colt's Six Shooters, . . . Durrenger's Pistols . . ." Another in the same trade included from his own manufacture and foreign imports duelling pistols, Bowie knives, and California rifles for his man or animal hunting customers.

However, the reader was not always forced to read the usual fine line after fine line of the lists of goods. Now and then a small design appeared in the upper left hand corner of the ad. If possible, it represented the trade of the advertiser. Small pitchers or large bowls announced the china, glass, and queensware sellers; pocket watches heralded the jewelry store; opera hats, boots, women's fragile shoes and miniature bonnets were self-explanatory.

Perhaps the most gruesome advertisements were those of the coffin makers whose product, shaped to the body, suggested the melancholy trade. One St. Louis coffin maker expanded his services to include laying out the body and furnishing all the requirements of mourning: "hearse, carriages, crape, gloves, scarfs, etc."

Other notices were more colorful. The Michigan canal boat line pictured a trim canal boat being cordelled along the river by a team of horses on one bank. The steamboat ads with whistles blowing, flags flying, and enough smoke pouring from the funnels to win a race, brought all the glamour of river travel to the landbound reader of the newspaper. Slave purchases or sales and runaways were all labelled with the familiar Sambo, knapsack over his shoulder. Piano-

fortes and scales, carriages and sofas, appealed more directly to the feminine purse. A clipper ship advertised a sail loft specializing in tarpaulins, tents, and sacking. The same three-story building sufficed to illustrate farms for sale, buildings and homes for sale or lease, hotels advertising for guests, and even the shot tower for sale in Selma.

Professional men also offered their services in the advertising columns. Various dentists depicted their skills under the sign of a plate of false teeth; lawyers who desired to buy or adjust soldiers' claims did so aided by the courageous figure of a soldier on horseback, sword in hand. An ironic tribute to this chivalry was the example of an attorney, Shearer by name, who desired to care for the pensions of widows and orphans!

St. Louis newspapers were more inclined than country newspapers to include the prices of the goods advertised for sale. In 1829 whiskey was sold at thirty-seven and a half cents a gallon by the barrel and forty-three and three-fourths cents for a single gallon. One store used this as a leader to entice customers just to drop in.

The standard brands, now ballyhooed so widely by comic strips and the radio, were of course unknown in the past century. The Pekin tea warehouse of St. Louis in 1849 published for months the identical ad recommending their "fresh Teas of all qualities." Instead of brands merchants carried types, such as "Imperial," "Gunpowder," or "Young Hyson" teas, each of which might be sold by any number of manufacturing firms.

But for the patent medicine man, advertising would have been only on speaking acquaintance with its contemporary descendant. "Turlington's Balm of Life" or "Columbian Syrup" promised to cure any and all diseases; surely the accompanying testimonials proved their claims. In 1829 the *Missouri Intelligencer* in Fayette carried a full three column announcement of "Columbian Syrup" which appeared on the front page. Each bottle sold at the "nominal" fee of three dollars and the manufacturer purchased a full page ad in the *Intelligencer* a month later.



The special seasons of the year, dear to the heart of contemporary merchants in giving opportunities to increase sales, were less celebrated. Mothers' Day, Thanksgiving, birthdays, Easter, all the holidays that now carry the necessity of gifts or purchases were overlooked. Rare ads were those in December 1834 when the St. Louis *Missouri Republican* carried a few notices headed "Christmas and Holiday Goods."

The merchant also did not appreciate the value of this tool of his in drawing out the feminine customer. Matter-of-fact ads that listed "a fresh supply of Shaker Knit Socks and Flannel Shirts" would certainly rouse no desire in the reader. An exception to this general practice was that of a St. Louis merchant who declared that his "Emporium of fashions" had obtained "elegant ready made clothing" directly from eastern cities. By ordering goods once a month he guaranteed to keep St. Louis supplied with the latest fashions.

Variety, if introduced, was often unconscious humor. Fortrightness and plain talk were indispensable on the practical frontier. Advertising, beyond its bare bones, was unnecessary and perhaps under suspicion. Unintentional interest was supplied by one furniture merchant who stated boldly that he sold for a profit.

#### THE OFFICIAL MANUAL OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI

For the average citizen who wants to hang his vague ideas of Missouri government on specific pegs of facts the series of blue books, as the *Official Manual of the State of Missouri* is popularly called, offers a convenient collection for his use. Of course the specialist is always hunting for an exact bit of information, but most other readers also need a handbook that will answer any question that may arise on state government. The *Manual* provides the answer to both sections of the population. Newspapermen, lawyers, teachers, or any members of their brother professions need it at their elbow and less specially trained voters often cannot have it far out of reach.

The *Manual*, which is issued biennially and now reaches an edition of between 25,000 and 30,000 copies, was originally a seventy-two-page paper-covered pamphlet, fathered by Michael K. McGrath, secretary of state from 1874 to 1889. The first *Almanac*, as it was entitled, appeared in 1878. It was supposed to sell for twenty-five cents a copy but even with considerable advertising McGrath and a few of his clerks and friends themselves bore much of the expense of publication. Eighteen pages of the third issue blazoned with ads crying the great virtues of items, ranging from patent medicines to beer and champagne.

In 1889 Alexander Lesueur succeeded McGrath and the burden of publication proved too great for the new secretary. His clerk, Major Thomas Park, father of former Governor Guy B. Park, suggested that the state government assume the cost of publication since the entire state would benefit. Park is also credited with having drafted the law which authorized the necessary appropriation for publication.

From the original pamphlet that contained a few election figures, always an indispensable part of the publication, and a list of the county, state, and most important federal officials, the present volume has come a long road in the past sixty years.

The second issue contained more complete election returns, a few tidbits of information concerning state government, and biographical sketches of various state officials. Unlike the present pictorial presentation, the early volumes carried no illustrations. In fact it was quite an innovation when the edition of 1893-1894 carried maps of the senatorial districts in the State.

In the next issue of 464 pages Lesueur, not to be outdone by his earlier efforts, continued the map series and included the platforms of the political parties and a post office directory of the State. In the succeeding years of that decade other maps were added to cover the districts electing congressmen and judges of the State, and senators, representatives, and justices of the peace in St. Louis.

Since the ever-present importance of newspapers could not be ignored, the issue of 1899-1900 contained a list of the

officers of the Missouri press association from its organization and newspapers classified by counties. Postal regulations and a digest of the twelfth census also increased the value of the manual.

With the new century a new secretary, Sam B. Cook, published in the 1901-1902 issue a brief history of the purchase of Louisiana and a description of the centennial exposition which was then the universal topic of conversation in the State. The next issue explored farther outstate. The names of army and navy officers, federal senate and house members, and the elected officials of all other states were listed. Other educational aids included a summary of previous Missouri constitutional conventions, the reports required by statute of state officials, and a list of state officers since 1820.

The first illustrations in the *Manual* appeared in the following issue under the editorship of John E. Swanger, secretary of state. Portraits of the executive officials, senators, representatives, railroad and warehouse commissioners, and supreme court judges were preserved for posterity. For the first time elections were subordinated to the elected officials themselves in arrangement in the *Manual*. Other items were lists of the public holidays, the schools of the State, and foreign consuls serving in Missouri.

The national interest in immigration also was reflected in this period. An unusual section in the edition of 1907-1908 was the classification of the population by race and nativity.

By 1909-1910 when Cornelius Roach became secretary of state, the volume had grown to 843 pages. The usual sections on the divisions of government appeared plus much more material on the schools of the State. Odd items included the local option vote between 1900 and 1908 on liquor sales and a listing of game seasons.

The succeeding volume was dedicated to Mark Twain, who had died shortly before. It contained a brief summary of the advantages, both political and economic, and a history of the State. Many more photographs were used to illustrate the expanding administrative field of boards and com-

missions. Continued interest in immigration led to the inclusion of the figures on national immigration between 1822 and 1910. An increasing self-conscious nationalism was reflected in the lists of officers of the Daughters of the Confederacy, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the veterans' association.

The issue of 1913-1914 was dedicated to Champ Clark, then serving his tenth term in the House of Representatives and his second as speaker. Agricultural interests of the State were represented by illustrations of the experiment station, a woman farmer, and the prize animals of the college of agriculture. Of most interest, perhaps, was the section on the earlier capitol, the capitol building commissioners, and their plans since the capitol had burned in the preceding biennium.

With the World war, the *manual* took on a patriotic air under the secretaryship of John L. Sullivan. The "Star Spangled Banner" and the pledge of allegiance found place as well as the statues of General Sterling Price, General James Shields, and the perennial favorite, Mark Twain. Lists of the wars of the United States as well as the battles of the Civil war were included. The strong civic and social interest also so apparent during those years is shown in the section on the growing number of public libraries and the relief and control of tuberculosis. Agriculture was not forgotten with an explanation of how to stop hog cholera and a description of the dairying and poultry industries in the State.

When this country entered the war, the usual sources of information for the *manual* were disrupted. County officials resigned and newspaper editors volunteered for the armed forces. Finally Secretary Sullivan was forced to apologize for omissions and errors that were beyond his control. The usual historical tabulations were omitted and contemporary data was emphasized. The portraits of the president and vice-president were for the first time included. Wilson's war message shared the limelight with a brief résumé of the role of Missouri in the war.

The approaching state centennial brought back to its place the historical survey. The 1919-1920 issue included a section on the world events a century before.

The succeeding volume, published by Charles U. Becker, secretary of state, had expanded to 907 pages and included a history of Missouri schools and education. The official centennial number, it included a calendar of Missouri history compiled by the staff of the State Historical Society. In addition, there was included a full description of all state boards.

The volume of 1923-1924 consisted in addition to the customary material of an extensive section devoted to the constitutional convention of 1922-1923. There was also published an illustration of the memorial to Missourians who had died in France; Missouri thus became the first state to erect such a statue there for the war dead. The state flag and flower also first appeared with photographs and their histories. In succeeding issues of the *Manual* during that decade was the description of the memorial tower at the University, the state park system that was then being inaugurated, and the dedication of the present state capitol in 1925.

In 1929-1930 when the members were first realizing their strength and influence, a description of the chambers of commerce and community organizations first appeared. The purposes and accomplishments of the organizations were explained and the officers of each town were listed.

After a service of twelve years, Secretary Becker relinquished his office in 1932 to Dwight H. Brown. Since that date the volume has grown from 911 pages to the present 1203, a small indication of the ever-increasing immensity of our state government and its services. The dedications have become more important as the speedier tempo of life has caused even the State to snatch at some permanent reminder of the vanishing moment. The servants of the State, the defenders of democracy, and in the present volume a state official who gave his life for his country in the present war have been thus honored.

The last volume of this invaluable series for the years 1943-1944 is in many respects the best *Official Manual* ever published by the State. To the customary sections on the various departments of government considerable new information has been added. A survey of the constitutional convention now in session contains the journal of the first day's proceedings besides the valuable list of permanent committees and biographical sketches of the delegates.

A valuable section in this volume is entitled, "General Missouri Information." A history of the capitols and a description of the present building plus a description of the official seal, flag, bird, and flower give the reader a better appreciation of the symbols of his State. The historical information includes a list of the members of congress from Missouri since 1821, six pages of territorial maps, and an index to the historical features which have appeared in the official manuals since their first issue. The maps were taken from originals in the library of the State Historical Society and the index was compiled by its staff. This section was inserted primarily to offer a partial answer to the pleas to the secretary of state's office by citizens for more information about the history of the State. But most of all for the reader, here in the *Official Manual* is the shortcut to investigating the machinery of state government.

#### MISSOURI MINIATURES

GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER

George Washington Carver began his first class at Tuskegee institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, on October 8, 1896, where he was to make so many startling discoveries for the benefit of agriculture. Beginning as director and instructor in scientific agriculture and dairy science, this outstanding negro scientist labored for the rest of his life for the betterment of agricultural practices.

He was born of slave parents about 1864 near Diamond, Missouri. After attending high school in Minneapolis, Kansas, he studied for three years at Simpson college in Indianola, Iowa, from which he received the honorary

degree of doctor of science in 1928. He had received from Iowa state college a bachelor of science degree in agriculture in 1894 and a master of science degree in 1896. For a time before becoming the first director of agricultural research at Tuskegee, Carver was a faculty member of Iowa state college, having charge of bacterial laboratory work in systematic botany.

In 1896 the Alabama state legislature appointed him director of research of the agricultural experimental station. Through his research work Carver found new uses for sweet potatoes, peanuts, cotton, soybeans, and wood. In the 1920s he wrote a bulletin on the methods of growing the peanut and 105 ways for preparing it for human consumption. His researches with the sweet potato have yielded such products as flour, breakfast foods, ginger, vinegar, ink, shoe blackening, coffee, and synthetic chocolate. His experiments with the peanut have brought forth candy, cloth dye, face powder, shaving cream, linoleum, and milk.

Until his death, January 5, 1943, in Tuskegee, Dr. Carver endeavored to give southern farmers a more progressive view of agriculture and to show them how to use their soils to obtain the best results. In 1935 he was appointed collaborator with the mycology and plant disease survey of the United States department of agriculture bureau of plant industry.

Although Carver is more famous for his great service to agriculture, he was also well known as an artist and his works have hung in several recognized galleries. A highway marker has been placed on United States highway No. 71 at Diamond Grove, directing persons to the birthplace of Carver two miles west of that town. Besides his many honors by various American societies, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Arts at London. The *Progressive Farmer* selected him in 1943 as the man of the year in service to southern agriculture.

[Sources for data on the life of George Washington Carver are: *Farm Chemurgic Council* (speech by Dr. H. E. Barnard), June 2, 1937; *Pathfinder*, June 19, 1937; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 13, May 10, 1942; Rackham Holt, *George Washington Carver* (1943).]



## HENRY SHAW

In 1851 Henry Shaw, a wealthy retired St. Louis merchant, went to the first world's fair in London. Strolling through the grounds of Chatsworth he gained the inspiration for his own garden, the world famous Missouri botanical garden in St. Louis. He returned to St. Louis in December, and began laying out his botanical garden and park on a tract of land he had acquired in the early forties and on which he had built his country mansion.

Henry Shaw was born in Sheffield, England, July 24, 1800, son of a grates and fire-irons manufacturer. He attended school in Thorne village and later in Mill House. In 1818 he came with his father to Canada and shortly afterward was sent to New Orleans to learn the cotton business. The next year he decided to try his fortune in St. Louis and early in May 1819 he arrived in the bustling frontier outpost.

At first Shaw established a small hardware and cutlery business, but he soon expanded the store to include textiles, buffalo hides, and beeswax. In 1839 he found he had made a profit of \$25,000. Telling himself this sum was "more money than any man in my circumstances ought to make in a single year," he decided to go out of business at the first opportunity. The next year he sold his business and retired at forty with a fortune of \$250,000.

After ten years of travel, he returned to St. Louis in 1851. In 1857 he requested Dr. George Engelmann, noted Missouri botanist, to examine European gardens for ideas about establishing one in Missouri; Shaw also began corresponding with Sir William Hooker, director of the famed Kew gardens of London, in order to ascertain the most recent ideas in England on the subject.

Actual construction of the Shaw garden began in 1857. For a new library and museum built in 1858-1859, Shaw let Engelmann select the books and also followed his advice to buy a large herbarium from a German professor. About 1860 he opened to an interested public his botanical garden, the only one of its kind in America at the time. The permanence of the garden was assured by an endowment of about two million dollars, composing his estate.

This was but one of several of his philanthropic acts. Shaw donated Tower grove park to St. Louis by an action authorized by the general assembly in 1867. In 1885 he endowed the Henry Shaw school of botany at Washington university, and he later had the complete works of Engelmann collected and edited. He died August 25, 1889, and was buried in his garden.

[Sources for data on the life of Henry Shaw are: *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis*, Vol. IV (1899); "Henry Shaw . . .," *Missouri Botanical Garden Bulletin*, Vol. XXIX, No. 2; *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXXV, No. 1.]

#### MISSOURI SCRAPBOOK

American humor has always been highly colored by the twinkling eyes of the man of the west, and even history is never immune from his touch. So it was not out of character for the *St. Louis Democrat* of 1844, quoting a western paper, to describe a congressman as "so tall that when he addresses the people, instead of mounting a stump as is usual in the West, they have to dig a hole for him to stand in."

#### *Hear Ye! Hear Ye!*

Quilp calls orators who extol our national characterists on Independence day, beyond what truth will justify, "fourth-of-Juliars."—*Palmyra Missouri Whig*, August 15, 1850.

#### *Another housing problem—*

A brick jail was erected in 1865 on the city's [Versailles] lot, . . . Its occupants in a few years had dug and chipped away at it until in the language of one of the town wags who had been put in it, it was not safe to sleep in, as a "feller is likely to fall out anywhere."—*The History of Cole, Moniteau, Morgan, Benton, Miller, Maries and Osage Counties, Missouri* (1889), p. 413.

#### *Love at first sight*

A marriage on the open prairie took place between John Parris and Miss Lina Jolly. The parties belonged to separate bands of emigrants to the far west, liked each other, hitched teams, and departed for Oregon.—*Springfield Advertiser*, August 15, 1848.

*And I "quote"—*

A recruiting agent at Trenton has a large dog which he calls "Quota," because he never appears to get full.—*Columbia Missouri Statesman*, July 15, 1864.

*Devil's Food, no doubt!*

Ice Cream.—Our friend Powell has made an addition to his establishment, in the articles of Ice Cream and Soda Water, which the lovers of these articles will always find on hand. Mr. P. sent to our office a day or two since, a few glasses of his Ice Cream, and some delicious cakes, which our "Devil" pronounces first rate.—*Palmyra Missouri Whig*, June 6, 1850.

*No news is bad news—*

In short our town is getting emphatically too prosy, moral, and humdrum for ye local to thrive.—*Boonville Weekly Eagle*, May 16, 1868.

*Missouri girls went west!*

A Louisiana girl embodies her views of California and marriage in the following refrain:

The Girl for California  
I'm off for California, ho!  
Where the golden river flows;  
There are twenty dozen husbands there,  
For every girl that goes!

Then come along Sally, and come along Jane,  
We'll be company on the way,  
'Till we get to where those husbands are,  
At the San Francisco Bay!  
—*Palmyra Missouri Whig*, May 10, 1849.

# HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

## MEMBERS ACTIVE IN INCREASING SOCIETY'S MEMBERSHIP

During the three months from February through April 1944, inclusive, the following members of the Society increased its membership as indicated:

### ELEVEN NEW MEMBERS

Winkelman, Robert C., St. Louis

### FIVE NEW MEMBERS

Smith, Frederick M., Independence

### FOUR NEW MEMBERS

Evans, Clarence, Jefferson City

Muench, Julius T., St. Louis

### THREE NEW MEMBERS

Harty, H. L., Sikeston

Rinehart, Robert L., Kirksville

Rozier, George A., Jefferson City

### TWO NEW MEMBERS

Gambrel, Harry M., Kansas City

Jones, Robert N., St. Louis

Kelly, C. T., St. Louis

Williamson, Harry C., Richmond Heights

Windell, Mrs. Marie, Columbia

### ONE NEW MEMBER

Anthony, W. A., Sikeston

Aubuchon, Cliff W., Webster  
Groves

Beardsley, C. G., St. Joseph

Bettis, Frank A., Kansas City

Branham, W. S., Columbia

Brockett, Mrs. Edith Todd, Seattle,  
Washington

Combs, Joe C., Springfield

Cosby, Byron, Columbia

Drake, M. M., Kimmswick

Fitzgerald, R. L., Kansas City

Funk, George B., St. Louis

Hafner, D. H., Jr., Hannibal

Henwood, Berryman, St. Louis

Higgins, Mrs. J. P., Clayton

Hirsch, Rudolph, Kansas City

Hobbs, Mrs. John, Jefferson City

Kern, Carl Wilhelm, St. Louis

MacNutt, J. Scott, St. Louis

McCawley, A. L., Jefferson City

Olendorf, A. W., St. Louis

Scarritt, W. H., Kansas City

Sullivan, Stephen H., Sullivan

Vincent, Mary I., Springfield

Wagenbreth, W. H., St. Louis

Winius, Enno D., St. Louis

Yeckel, Louis F., St. Louis

## NEW MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

FEBRUARY-APRIL 1944

Ninety-five applications for membership were received by the Society during the three months from February to April 1944, inclusive. The new members are:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Aubuchon, Cliff W., Webster Groves                 | Hetzler, J. P., Columbia                          |
| Beals, Ira D., Chillicothe                         | Hess, Henry P., St. Louis                         |
| Birk, Otto F., St. Louis                           | Hudspeth, J. W., Overland                         |
| Bohrer, Everett, Kansas City                       | Hoffman, Emil F., Jr., St. Louis                  |
| Brockett, Mrs. Edith Todd, Seattle, Washington     | Hollman, Mrs. Thelma, Piney Point, Maryland       |
| Cabell, Mrs. Blanche, St. Louis                    | Holroyde, Mrs. Edward, Hawaii                     |
| Carmichael, A., Independence                       | Hougas, Ward A., St. Joseph                       |
| Carr, Leslie T., Maplewood                         | Housman, Mrs. Lester F., Rogersville              |
| Carson, George C., Independence                    | Kansas City Museum, Kansas City                   |
| Cass, Mrs. Elbert D., Fordland                     | Kessler, Albert D., St. Louis                     |
| Chattanooga Public Library, Chattanooga, Tennessee | Krause, Albert, University City                   |
| Cornwell, Alex M., University City                 | Kreyling, Arthur, St. Louis                       |
| Culbertson, Mrs. Margaret, Perry                   | Lange, Edward H., Kansas City                     |
| Cullimore, Don, St. Louis                          | Latimer, A. L., Sullivan                          |
| Daugherty, Lee A., Webb City                       | Law, James M., Sikeston                           |
| Davis, C. R., Kansas City                          | Lawrence Colonel B. I., San Francisco, California |
| Doss, William N., St. Louis                        | Librach, Eveline B., New York City                |
| Drain, Katherine, New York City                    | McBride, Dennis J., Dyersburg, Tennessee          |
| Eisele, Mrs. Martin A., Hot Springs, Arkansas      | McCullah, W. A., Monett                           |
| Elliott, Howard, LaDue, St. Louis County           | McDade, W. F., University City                    |
| Evans, Wilfred, Kansas City                        | McKibbin, A. C., St. Louis                        |
| Feezor, I. H., St. Joseph                          | McLaughlin, James L., Lemay                       |
| Ferguson, John A., Jefferson City                  | Mansur, George F., Columbia                       |
| Freeman, Ralph M., Independence                    | Mather, Thomas B., Kansas City                    |
| Francis, Parker B., Kansas City                    | Mathias, Frank D., Kansas City                    |
| Gofourth, James D., Lampe                          | Meyer, H. V., East Alton, Illinois                |
| Grossius, George, St. Louis                        | Meyer, Jane E., Columbia                          |
| Gunn, Festus, Kirksville                           | Missouri Resources Museum, Jefferson City         |
| Gurney, B. E., St. Louis                           | Morrison, George F., St. Louis                    |
| Hafner, D. H., III, Los Angeles, California        | Muench, Alice F., New York City                   |
| Hahn, Mannel, Winnetka, Illinois                   | Muench, Dr. Hugo, New York City                   |
| Hatton, B. E., Columbia                            | Nagel, James R., San Jose, California             |
| Herrin, Frederick E., Hannibal                     |   |

Nelson, Mrs. Hontas Brown, Richmond	Schwab, Mrs. August L., Ironton
Newby, E. B., Kansas City	Sellmeyer, Laura A., Springfield
Parmely, Marian F., St. Louis	Stark, Clay Hamilton, Louisiana
Parmely, Oliver C., Rock Hill	Steinbicker, Paul G., Jefferson City
Pinnell, Edna Lee, Sikeston	Stevenson, A., Creve Coeur
Ploetze, Harry C., St. Louis	Surman, John H., Affton
Rake, E. G., St. Louis	Taos High School, Jefferson City
Reder, Mrs. Carl, Olympia, Washington	Todd, T. B., Nevada
Rinehart, K. L., II, Chillicothe	Trail, Linden Knox, Olney, Illinois
Rinkel, M. W., Pine Lawn	Vincent, Mary I., Springfield
Rueve, S. J., St. Louis	Warner, M. D., Kirksville
Sappington, Dot, Jefferson City	Wight, Mrs. L. S., Independence
St. Louis River Museum Foundation, St. Louis	Willbanks, Mrs. N. B., Rocky Ford, Colorado
Schmidt, Kenneth E., St. Louis	Williamson, Harry C., Richmond Heights
Schopper, Arthur, Kansas City	Zimmer, Gertrude, Farmington

#### STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY HOLDS ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

The State Historical Society held its thirty-eighth annual business meeting at Columbia, May 4, 1944. The customary dinner was not given because of existing war conditions.

Officers elected for the term expiring at the annual meeting in 1947 are: president, Isidor Loeb, St. Louis; first vice-president, George Robb Ellison, Maryville; second vice-president, Henry C. Chiles, Lexington; third vice-president, Rush H. Limbaugh, Cape Girardeau; fourth vice-president, Merrill E. Otis, Kansas City; fifth vice-president, Elzey Roberts, St. Louis; sixth vice-president, Ludwig Fuerbringer, St. Louis; treasurer, R. B. Price, Columbia. The nominating committee, appointed by the retiring president, George A. Rozier, was composed of L. M. White, chairman, Albert M. Clark and Henry C. Thompson, members.

Trustees elected for a three-year term expiring at the annual meeting in 1947, were Frank P. Briggs of Macon, Stephen B. Hunter of Cape Girardeau, Waldo P. Johnson of Osceola, E. Lansing Ray of St. Louis, Frederick M. Smith of Independence, E. E. Swain of Kirksville, R. M. Thomson of St. Charles, and Roy D. Williams of Boonville.

The following were elected trustees for the term expiring at the annual meeting in 1945 in the place of the late Wallace Crossley of Warrensburg, the late John F. Rhodes of Kansas City, and Justus R. Moll of Springfield who resigned on taking up his residence in Washington, D. C.; Paul C. Jones of Kennett, William L. Vandeventer of Springfield, and Father Laurence J. Kenny, S.J., of St. Louis. T. Ballard Watters, of Marshfield, was elected a trustee for a term expiring in 1946 in the place of the late H. S. Sturgis of Neosho.

The financial report of the treasurer was given by R. B. Price. In the absence of E. E. Swain, chairman of the finance committee, the financial report of the executive and finance committees was presented by Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary.

The secretary also presented the report on the activities of the Society for 1943. Especial emphasis was placed on the membership and publications of the Society. In active, annual members, the Society had grown to 3610 on December 31, 1943, the largest of the nation's state historical societies. The Society also had the largest circulation of its historical weekly feature articles, published in county and city newspapers, and of its quarterly magazine, the *Missouri Historical Review*. During 1943 the Society published 1095 pages of documentary material, equal to any prior two-year period. This included two volumes (Volumes X and XI) of the series of the *Debates of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875*. Volume XII of the *Debates* was published in April 1944, thereby completing this documentary series which has been particularly valuable to the members of the constitutional convention now in session. In addition, the concluding volume of *Missouri, Day by Day*, was released in June 1944.

#### MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL CONVENTION

The Mississippi Valley historical association met in St. Louis on April 22 at the invitation of Washington university, the Missouri Historical society, and St. Louis university. The development of the Middle West, particularly its culture, was stressed by the speakers. Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, president of the association and dean of the graduate school



of the University of Minnesota, urged that historians emphasize the human and humane values of history. When more importance is given the social studies, the gap between scholar and layman may be lessened. The problems of the last frontier, the fuels of the settlements of the plains, politics of a century ago, and the city-ward migration of the population were discussed by other lecturers.

WEEKLY FEATURE ARTICLES OF THE SOCIETY

Newspapers throughout the State publish weekly the series of historical feature articles which the Society compiles to encourage popular interest in the history of Missouri. A late Indian scalping in the State, pioneer wedding customs, a botanical garden of the 1820s destroyed by a Missouri flood, and soldiers' post exchanges on the frontier are a few of the sidelights on life in our grandfather's day.

Those released during April, May, and June include the following:

*April:* " 'Got to Quit Kickin' My Dawg Aroun' Sings the Houn' Dawg Regiment of the Missouri Guard," " 'Lo! The Poor Indian' Was Often the State of the Tribes After Merchants Scalped Them," "Come One, Come All, To the Old Time Minstrel Show!" "Pioneer Traders Catered to Soldiers' Tastes As Well as Supplied Government Rations."

*May:* " 'The Indians Will Scalp You If You Don't Watch Out'—True in Missouri As Late as 1829," " 'The Greeks Had A Word For It' Does Not Apply to the Sweet Ecstasy of a Missouri Spring!" "The 'Little Gray Home in the West' Was a Rendezvous for Hetherly Gang in the 1830s," "The Cause of Justice Was on the Side of the Osages in the Last Indian Uprising in Missouri," "Missouri Wedding Parties Struggled Along Without Strains of Mendelssohn."

*June:* "Hardeman's Garden, a Botanical Experiment in the 1820s Was the Show Place of Missouri," "At Risk of His Life Pioneer Entered Salt River Country," " 'Do, Re, Mi,' for the Pioneer," "Weddings Were Something to Write Home About in Missouri Frontier Days."

## ACTIVITIES OF COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Boone's Lick historical society held the annual banquet meeting in Boonville on March 4. Charles F. Mullett, professor of history in the University of Missouri, gave an address on the real characters of the Mother Goose rhymes. The officers elected for the coming year were: W. D. Baskett, professor of modern languages in Central College, Fayette, president; Al Crow, superintendent of schools, Boonville, vice-president; Miss Martha Ricketts, Central College, Fayette, secretary; and Robert Lee, Franklin, treasurer.

The Clay county historical society held a spring meeting on March 6 in Liberty. The theme of the meeting was, "A Look into Clay County's Future." Dr. Walter P. Binns, president of William Jewell college, gave an address on "William Jewell College Has a Future." Other speakers were Howard Cowden, president of the Clay county planning commission of North Kansas City, Dr. Lerton V. Dawson of the Excelsior Springs planning committee, and Professor John Davis, a member of the Liberty postwar planning commission. A chief project of the society for years has been the conversion of the 1600-acre Watkins farm in the northeast part of the county to a public park. On October 19 the society and the Clay county sportsmen's club convened in joint session to begin the campaign to preserve the Watkins woolen mill, one of the landmarks of western Missouri, and the house erected in 1856.

The latest article in the series of historical features which members of the Cole county historical society have been preparing during the past year is the "Growth and Development of Jefferson City Schools," by Alice Hope. The article was published in the *Jefferson City News-Tribune*, April 9.

A regular meeting of the Historical Association of Greater St. Louis was held in the Jefferson Memorial on March 24. The speakers on the program included Dr. Walter Forster whose subject was "The Origins of Lutheranism in Missouri" and Miss Laura Langehenning of the Woerner school who spoke on "St. Louisans and the Mississippi in the Fifties."

Under the sponsorship of the Phelps county historical society, the one-hundredth anniversary of the coming to that region by the first settler, John Webber, is to be celebrated by an historical essay contest. President B. H. Rucker appointed a planning committee, under the chairmanship of Clair V. Mann, to direct the celebration. For the contest among the students of the Rolla public schools the *Rolla Herald* and *Rolla New Era* have each offered five dollars as awards.

#### ANNIVERSARIES

The 201st anniversary of the birthday of Thomas Jefferson was observed on the University of Missouri campus on April 13. The school of journalism, assisted by members of the college of agriculture, was in charge of the observance. The ceremonies were held at the monument to Jefferson on the campus, which was the original marker at his grave and was presented to the University by his heirs. Dean M. F. Miller of the college of agriculture spoke on Thomas Jefferson as a farmer. He was introduced by Dean Frank L. Mott of the school of journalism. Mrs. G. F. Troxell, representing the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, presented a wreath which was laid at the monument.

The St. Vincent de Paul Catholic church of St. Louis celebrated on April 23 the one hundredth anniversary of its founding. Jubilants overflowed the church to begin a day-long observance of the centennial. The seventh Catholic church built in St. Louis, St. Vincent de Paul was dedicated March 17, 1844.

On March 16 the *Liberty Tribune* began the ninety-ninth year of publication. It was established on April 4, 1846, and is the third oldest newspaper in the State.

#### ACQUISITIONS

R. W. Ginsburg, Osceola, Missouri, has donated copies of the following newspapers to the Society: *Osceola Advance*, November 28, 1883-November 25, 1886; *Osceola Democrat*,

July 1, 1871-June 20, 1872; *Clayton* (St. Louis county) *Democrat*, March 13, 1879-September 18, 1879; and copies of separate issues of the *Appleton City Leader* and the *Osceola Herald*.

Through the courtesy of the Old Oregon Trail centennial commission with offices in Portland, Oregon, the State Historical Society has received a copy of an illustrated wall map showing the routes taken by the old Oregon trail, the Mormon trail, the Lewis and Clark expedition, the Applegate trail, the Naches pass trail, the Barlow road, and Frémont's route.

Lewis E. Atherton, associate professor of history at the University of Missouri, has donated to the Society photostatic copies of thirty-seven letters written by members of the Lenoir family in Missouri and North Carolina.

Through the courtesy of several Missouri editors, the Society has acquired microfilm copies of numerous newspapers for its newspaper library file. R. W. Ginsburg, editor of the *Osceola St. Clair County Democrat*, furnished the original file of Appleton City and Osceola newspapers from 1875 to 1883. L. M. White of Mexico, editor of the *Mexico Ledger*, lent his files of the *Weekly Ledger* from 1876 to 1898 for microfilming. A. G. Taubert of Warrensburg, editor of the *Warrensburg Standard-Herald*, lent the files of his paper for nearly four decades to complete the issues of the *Warrensburg Standard-Herald* in the library of the Society. They include the *Weekly Standard*, 1865-1871, the *Daily Standard*, 1878-1879, the *Weekly Standard*, 1880-1892, the *Semi-Weekly Standard-Herald*, 1893-1896, and the *Weekly Standard-Herald*, 1897-1903.

The Society has acquired as a gift from William G. Rule, vice-president of the Boatman's national bank of St. Louis, forty-one photographs of steamboats. The group includes one picture of Grant's headquarters fleet at Pittsburg Landing for the campaign which culminated in the battle of Shiloh. In 1943 he presented the Society with thirty-three photographs of other steamboats.

The Society has acquired in the past few months numerous groups of prints from various contributors. Mr. B. F. Lewis, Jr., president of the Lewis publishing company of Chicago, gave 165 copper halftone cuts of Missouri persons and scenes as well as 101 photographs. Ruth Rollins Westfall of Columbia contributed prints of the old and new Columbia Episcopal churches. Joseph Gantner presented a group of prints of the covers of dime novel magazines of the Nineties.

Samuel W. Sawyer of Kansas City presented to the Society photostatic copies of several letters, some of which his grandfather had written shortly after his arrival in Missouri from Ohio in 1838 and others within the next decade. One letter from Thomas Callaway, his son-in-law, is included.

The Society has received from E. O. Hallock, Kansas City, several issues of the *Monroe City News* in 1881 and 1883.

Mrs. Bertha D. Rambo of Tulsa, Oklahoma, has presented the Society with two letters written by her great-great-grandmother, Deborah Cass Silliman of Warrensburg, Missouri. A sister of General Lewis Cass, Mrs. Silliman's letters show the tragic circumstances of many Missouri families during the Civil war.

Porter T. Hall of Kansas City gave to the Society a copy of the *Hall, Bird and Allied Families*, a genealogical study with biographical notes of the ancestry of his wife, Josephine Bird Hall, and himself. The copy is one of a limited edition.

Mrs. Ada Elliott has donated to the Society the souvenir bridge number of the *Boonville Advertiser*, June 27, 1924, and a copy of the 1883 edition of the *History of Howard and Cooper Counties*.

Through the courtesy of J. G. Braecklein of Kansas City, the Society has acquired a photograph of the Spanish halberd designed pipe given to Governor Robert M. Stewart in 1857.

Through the kindness of Mrs. Eliza T. Grant of Williamsburg, Missouri, the Society has acquired a photostatic copy of the March 25, 1841, issue of the *Fulton Reformer*.

Mrs. F. H. Nifong of Columbia has presented the Society with a copy of a pamphlet published on the installation of the faculty of the University of Missouri on October 2, 1860. It contains the addresses of J. W. Tucker of St. Louis and President Benjamin B. Minor of the university.

#### MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS

A memorial foundation of \$50,000 has been created to provide scholarships for male graduates of the Moberly junior college who want to pursue their education, preferably in engineering, chemistry or physical science. The foundation was created by his family in honor of Lieutenant David W. Stamper who lost his life in a plane crash.

A memorial plaque in honor of James Henry Shepherd, first permanent settler in Independence in the early 1820s, was placed in the Independence courthouse on May 13. Mrs. Gladys Waters Smedley, his great-granddaughter, presented the plaque to William L. Yost, member of the Jackson county court, who represented the court at the dedication.

Thirty acres which include the original site known as Adam-ondi-Ahman and other spots of importance in the period of the Mormon settlement in Missouri have been purchased by Dr. Wilfred C. Wood of Utah. Shrines will probably be erected later on the locations. After the so-called "Mormon War" the town was abandoned and the settlers fled to Illinois and later to the west. Of the settlement, with an original population of 500, only the log cabin of Lyman Wight, Daviess county leader of the Mormons, now remains.

#### NOTES

Readers of the *Missouri Historical Review* are invited to notify Julian P. Boyd, librarian of Princeton university, of

the existence of isolated documents, especially those in private hands, concerning Thomas Jefferson. Since Princeton university and the Princeton university press will publish a definitive edition of the writings and correspondence of Jefferson in approximately fifty volumes, any information regarding archival or manuscript collections containing items of Jefferson interest will be valuable.

About 3000 Missourians in the Pacific celebrated "Missouri Day" in Hawaii on March 26. A highlight of the program was the raising of a Missouri flag by Mrs. Ingram M. Stainback, wife of the governor and a native Missourian. Musical entertainment was furnished by members of the armed forces and a final touch of Missouri was the hog-calling contest.

The Missouri Historical Society met at the Jefferson Memorial in St. Louis, March 31. Joe Friday, an Ojibway Indian, gave an address on Indian customs.

Charles Leon Harrison bequeathed his rare book collection of about 800 volumes to the Southeast Missouri State Teachers college at Springfield. There are many first editions, copies from limited editions, examples of fine binding in Europe and America, and items from the libraries of many famous men.

The oldest house in Springfield will soon be razed, following the sale on April 19 of the household furnishings of four generations. It was built in the 1850s by John Polk Campbell, the founder of Springfield, and has been in the possession of his heirs since that time.

An historical article on the so-called "Maid of the Mountain" of the Ozarks was published in the *Springfield News Leader*, March 8.



A series of articles on the history of Jackass bend in the Missouri river appeared in the *Richmond Missourian*, December 13, 20, and 27. The three articles, which were issued as "Ray County Chapters," were compiled by E. L. Pigg of Jefferson City.

The Missouri state society of Washington, D. C., which was founded in 1900, held receptions for the members on March 10 and April 22. The officers of the society are Victor R. Messal, president; Harry S. Truman, first vice-president; Carl Ristine, second vice-president; Miss Eva Jane Lewis, third vice-president; Walter C. Plouser, fourth vice-president; Mrs. C. M. Houchins, secretary; Walter H. Maloney, treasurer; Arthur W. Brown, tyler; and Walter C. Gilstrap, assistant tyler.

The old Century inn of New London was destroyed by fire on the night of April 11. This landmark, known early in its history as Purdom's tavern, was built in 1826 with additions made until about 1865. According to tradition, Senator Thomas H. Benton once made a campaign speech from the upstairs porch.

The *Kansas City Star*, April 16, published an historical article by Paul I. Wellman on the history of the great flood of the Missouri river in 1844. The article also contained a survey of river navigation and the problems of flood control.

A Liberty ship now under construction in California will be named in honor of Dr. Henry J. Waters, a widely-known Missouri educator, editor, and authority on farm problems. Dr. Waters, born in Center in 1865, was editor of *The Weekly Kansas City Star* and dean of the college of agriculture of the University of Missouri.

A portrait of J. B. Powell, former editor and publisher of the *China Weekly Review* in Shanghai, was presented March 16 to the University of Missouri school of journalism of which Powell is an alumnus. The portrait was painted by Yun Gee,

a Chinese-American artist, who offered it as a tribute to the newspaperman's efforts in behalf of the Chinese cause. The portrait was accepted by Dean Frank L. Mott on behalf of the University and will be hung in Jay H. Neff hall.

Dr. A. G. Hogan, chairman of the department of agricultural chemistry at the University of Missouri, was awarded April 20 the Mead Johnson company award for outstanding work in vitamin research. In addition to the prize, Dr. Hogan will receive a \$1000 cash award. His research has been in the field of the vitamin B complex.

L. M. White, the editor of the *Mexico Ledger*, has given special attention to the preservation of the files of his newspaper. A brick, concrete, and steel vault was erected in the basement of the office several years ago and in it are stored the original files. An index of the file was made and is accessible to the *Ledger* staff and the public. This year microfilmed copies of the paper from 1876 to 1898 have been made for immediate use and to preserve the originals. The State Historical Society also has microfilmed copies of the *Ledger* on file.

A Liberty ship, launched May 2, was named in honor of Alexander W. Doniphan, famous Missouri soldier and statesman of the ante bellum period.

#### HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

*The Hidden Civil War, The Story of the Copperheads.* By Wood Gray. (New York, Viking Press, 1942. 314 pp.) A brilliant study of the so-called fifth column of the Civil war, this work investigates the rarely touched aspects of southern sympathizers in the North. Out of the wrangling Middle West, torn by traditions and ties to both the East and the South, full-hearted acceptance of the Republican program of 1860 could not be expected. However, as the war dragged on to its final surrender, the Midwest, as well as the Confederacy, suffered from apathy and an exhaustion of morale. Although the Copperhead movement most dangerously af-

fects the Union cause in the Midwest, similar movements, if smaller in scope, appeared in other sections of the North. The heritage of the movement, however, helped to blacken the Democratic party in the North and keep it out of power for decades. Because of this suspicion of the party, Midwestern farmers were slow to accept Democratic leadership, despite its agricultural program, and third party movements flowered.

*Freedom's Ferment, Phases of American Social History to 1860.* By Alice Felt Tyler. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota press, 1944. 608 pp.) Probably the most colorful era in American history is that of the forty years which preceded the Civil war. Certainly few other eras had more unusual solutions for man's economic as well as spiritual salvation. Mrs. Tyler's work is a study of the period when the idea of the perfectibility of man flowered. Here came to bloom the seeds of democracy sown by the principles of the American revolution. The intellectual approach of the Transcendentalists or the religious communities of the Mormons and the Shakers are but a few of the examples of man's making over the world in his own image. In addition there are presented surveys of such humanitarian crusades as the free public schools, reform of the criminal code, care for the unfortunates—the insane, the poor, and the handicapped—the temperance movement, peace, and the rights of women. Unfortunately few of the programs had time to gain firm roots before they were swallowed by the slavery question and the Civil war. For any student in this field this work will be indispensable, and for the general reader it will give further insight into his democratic past.

*American Paddle Steamboats.* By Carl D. Lann. (New York, Coward-McCann, Inc., 1943. 250 pp.) When the *Western Engineer* chugged up the Missouri river in 1819, blowing clouds of exhaust through the nostrils of an artificial monster attached to the boat, the valley Indians ran terrified from the river demon with red eyes. After such an introduction, many were the paddle steamboats that churned through

the muddy Missouri to expand the inland waterway system. Beginning with the first commercial success, Robert Fulton's *Clermont*, few rivers and large streams in America were unexplored by the steamboat whistle and calls for a landing. The Mississippi valley was particularly, as Mark Twain so well pictured it, the province of the steamboat. This volume gives a survey of the history of the steamboat as well as ninety-five pages of plates showing builder's plans, engine details, steel and woodcuts, Currier and Ives lithographs, and many paintings. The end papers offer examples of the advertising of the various lines.

*White and Negro Spirituals, Their Life Span and Kinship, Tracing 200 Years of Untrammelled Song Making and Singing Among our Country Folk, With 116 Songs as Sung by Both Races.* By George Pullen Jackson. (New York, J. J. Augustin, publisher, 1943. 349 pp.) This excellent compilation of both folk songs and their history shows particularly the relationship between white and negro spirituals, confounding the customary belief that they are primarily the products of the latter race. As religious dissent broke out in the American colonies in the eighteenth century, the new freedom encouraged experiments in song. Folk melodies with religious lyrics flourished as the camp meetings spread the revival spirit over the country. Borrowed and made-over melodies of the white sects were discovered in the negro repertoire, over half of which was composed of tunes originally from the British Isles. An illuminative chapter is that on the process by which the white man's songs were adopted by the negro.

*Debates of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875.* Vol. XII. Edited by Isidor Loeb and Floyd C. Shoemaker. (Columbia, State Historical Society, 1944. 713 pp.) This volume concludes the series which has reproduced from the original manuscript the debates of the constitutional convention of 1875. It consists of the sessions for the last nine days of the convention that adjourned on August 2. During this period, the convention considered the reports on revenue and taxation, executive and ministerial officers of county and

municipal government, and the schedule. Minor reports from the committee on revision and the adoption of the constitution as a whole completed the session. The volume contains the customary introduction by Dr. Loeb in which is presented a summary of the work of the convention during these last days.

*Missouri, Day by Day.* Vol. II. Edited by Floyd C. Shoemaker. (State Historical Society of Missouri, 1943. 499 pp.) The concluding volume of this work continues the historical calendar for the last six months of the year. Significant dates of events and in the lives of important Missourians were used on which to peg brief histories of each. Such familiar figures as David Barton or the Chouteaus are here as well as a survey of the less well-known Bald Knobbers or a history of the early ferryboats. Due to lack of space, very few contemporary figures have been added, but the remainder of Missouri history has been surveyed and presented in as compact a form as possible. Bibliographies on each subject are offered to facilitate further research.

*Wedding Day.* By Edwa Moser. (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944. 218 pp.) With a background of contemporary St. Louis plus misty overtones of two and three generations ago, the story of a family is presented. Economically concise, very little is necessary to evoke vignettes of life in the early French settlement, the intrepid pioneer and Protestant missionary, and the warmth and gayety that followed the German migration. An especially vivid picture is a brief moment in the slums of St. Louis about thirty years ago.

*A Tentative Guide to Historical Materials on the Spanish Borderlands.* By Francis Borgia Steck. (Philadelphia, Catholic historical society of Philadelphia, 1943. 106 pp.) This is a compilation of articles in periodicals, published throughout the world, on the history of the borders of New Spain. Among sections on the colonial period and such special problems as Florida and the Southwest, is one division on Louisiana, 1763-1803.

*Two Fighters and Two Fines.* By Tom W. Campbell. (Little Rock, Pioneer publishing company, 1941. 557 pp.) Separate biographies of two outstanding democrats, Andrew Jackson and Matthew Lyon of Vermont, are presented in this eulogistic account. Lyon is particularly outstanding for his having been elected to the house of representatives from three states, Vermont, Kentucky, and Arkansas. In addition he ran for delegate to Congress from Missouri in her first election but was defeated by Edward Hempstead. The two fines, one levied on each man, which are referred to, were both returned to them by acts of Congress. Lyon was fined because of his violation of the Sedition law of 1798 and Jackson because of his maintenance of martial law in New Orleans after the battle of 1815.

## OBITUARIES

**JAMES T. BLAIR:** Born in Loudon, Tenn., Nov. 11, 1871; died in Springfield, Mo., April 12, 1944. Lawyer and jurist, he served in the state legislature from 1897 to 1901 and on the committee to revise Missouri statutes in 1900. He was a member of the Missouri supreme court commission for seven years and a state supreme court judge from 1915 until 1925. At his death he was a member of the judicial commission which nominated candidates for appointment to the supreme and appellate courts.

**HENRY ANDREW BUEHLER:** Born at Monroe, Wisc., May 27, 1876; died in Jefferson City, Mo., Mar. 14, 1944. Known as the "dean of state geologists in the United States," he was educated at the University of Wisconsin. He became assistant geologist of the Missouri geological survey in 1901 and director of that department in 1908. He was identified with many major developments of mineral resources in the State, and was ex-officio a member of the State Highway commission. He served as president of the American Institute of mining and metallurgical engineers in 1935. The Missouri school of mines and metallurgy of the University of Missouri conferred on him the honorary degree of doctor of science in 1925.

JESSE J. DUNCAN: Born in Olney, Mo., April 1, 1870; died in Silex, Mo., Mar. 17, 1944. A graduate of the University of Michigan law school, he practiced law in Silex and farmed in Lincoln county. He served in the state house of representatives from 1907 to 1911 and in the state senate from 1917 until 1921.

CORTEZ F. ENLOE: Born in Clarksburg, Mo., June 28, 1881; died in Jefferson City, Mo., Mar. 7, 1944. A central Missouri physician, he studied in the St. Louis medical school, Vanderbilt, and Columbia universities, and in Heidelberg, Germany. Active in politics, he helped secure federal aid for the establishment of the trachoma hospital at Rolla. A close friend of Governor Baker, he was director of the state penal board from 1925 to 1927.

FREDERIC J. HASKIN: Born in Shelbina, Mo., in 1873; died in Washington, D. C., April 24, 1944. After beginning work on the weekly *Torchlight*, of which he later became publisher, he began writing for the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*. At the time of his death more than one hundred newspapers published his column of general information which he contributed to the press.

REA ALEXANDER JOHNSTON: Born in Boonville, Mo., Oct. 28, 1879; died in Boonville, Mo., Mar. 17, 1944. After graduating from Kemper in 1897 and Virginia military institute in 1899, he was superintendent of the State Training school for boys in Boonville from 1911 to 1919. From 1919 to 1928 he was a member of the Kemper staff. In addition he was mayor of Boonville from 1926 to 1928 and from 1938 to 1940 and presiding judge of the county court in 1930-31. At his death he was president of the Missouri state chamber of commerce and commander of the 128th field artillery of the Missouri national guard.

GEORGE H. KAUFMAN: Born in Kiowa, Kans., Dec. 1, 1897; died in Tarkio, Mo., Mar. 2, 1944. A Missouri editor, he was educated at Kemper military school and served a year



overseas with the marines during the first world war. He became part owner of the *Tarkio Avalanche* in 1921 and full owner in 1925.

ROSE O'NEILL: Born in Wilkes-Barre, Penn., June 25, 1874; died in Springfield, Mo., April 6, 1944. Famous "kewpie doll" designer and artist, she created other types of dolls. She was also an illustrator for magazines and books, wrote poetry, and created a whimsical style of sculpture. Among her books, are included her autobiography, *The Master-Mistress*, a volume of poems, *Garda* and *The Goblin Woman*, both novels, and several books about the kewpies.

LEROY SHELDON PALMER: Born in Rushville, Ill., Mar. 23, 1887; died in St. Paul, Minn., Mar. 8, 1944. He was educated at the University of Missouri where he received a master's degree in 1911 and a doctor's degree in 1913. He was chemist in the dairy division of the United States department of agriculture, 1909-1911, chemist in the dairy department of the University of Missouri, 1911-1913, and assistant professor of chemistry, 1913-1919. In the latter year he left to continue his work in Minnesota university on the composition of milk and eggs in connection with carotin and the carotinoids, lactoflavin and vitamins. From 1919-1922 he was associate professor of agricultural biochemistry and professor since 1922. He is the author of several books on dairy science and associate editor of a dairy magazine.

JOHN FRANKLIN RHODES: Born in Vernon county, Mo., July 2, 1889; died in Kansas City, Mo., Mar. 29, 1944. After serving with the marines for three years, he graduated from the University of Missouri in 1914 and later attended Harvard law school. During the first world war he was a captain in the 356th infantry. After the war he became assistant United States district attorney with offices in Hutchinson, Kansas, and in 1924 he joined the Kansas City law firm of Bowerstock and Fizzell. As special counsel for the State in the insurance rate cases, he defended the State in an injunction suit brought by insurance companies protesting rate limita-

tions. He helped form in 1935 and was president of the Lawyer's association of Kansas City, and president of the Missouri bar association in 1941. Since 1939 he had been a trustee of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

HOPKINS B. SHAIN: Born in Macon county, Mo., in 1860; died in Kansas City, Mo., Mar. 21, 1944. Presiding judge of the Kansas City court of appeals, he taught in the Northeast Missouri State Teacher's college and Christian university, now Culver-Stockton college at Canton, before studying law in Shelbyville. He was elected circuit judge of the thirtieth district in 1911 and re-elected in 1917. Well-known as a leading Democrat and a jurist, he served as secretary of the Judicial conference of Missouri. In 1932 he was elected judge of the Kansas City court of appeals.

EMIL G. STEGER: Born in 1886; died in St. Louis, Mo., Mar. 14, 1944. A graduate of Concordia college in Fort Wayne, Indiana, he served as a Lutheran minister for three years in the East. In 1914 he organized the Associated Charities of York, Pennsylvania, and during World war I was a field secretary of the Red Cross. In 1923 he came to St. Louis and organized the Provident association. He handled disaster and relief work following the tornado of 1927 and in 1932 was elected director of the community fund and organized the United Charities. Since 1939 he had been director of the Social planning council. He was also a lecturer on organic social forces in the department of social work at Washington university, chairman of the St. Louis chapter of the American association of social workers, and function chief of the health and welfare section of the office of civilian defense.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN  
TEXTBOOKS

AND IN THE OTHER CORNER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN!

From the St. Louis *Daily Missouri Republican*, November 2, 1849.The Canton, Mo., *Reporter*, published in Mr. Green's county, thus alludes to the visit of Col. Benton:

Mr. Green—Col. Benton.—Hon. James S. Green has just received letters of invitation from Hannibal and Palmyra, urging him to meet Benton at those places, Friday and Saturday next, and reply to him. He has consented to do so; and if the cowardly old rebel will give him but half a chance, his free-soil hide won't hold shucks. Like his great prototype, King Richard the Third, he will swear that the field is full of Richmonds and Greens.

As we said before, if the old tyrant dare act the gentleman for once, and give way for a reply, Green will answer him at Hannibal, Palmyra, Monticello, and every other place in his district. We hope as Benton has "appealed" to the "people" that there will be a fair discussion on both sides. Green is a member of Congress as well as himself, and is his equal in every respect.—He differs widely from him on the appeal, and it is but fair that he be heard. Benton made his boasts while on the Missouri river, that he intended going into Green's district and grind him into powder. We now predict that the rearin' old boaster will not dare meet Green on equal terms. Yes, we venture the prediction that this boasting old Hector, after saying that "Atchison and Green were making speeches a hundred miles in his rear," thereby insinuating they were AFRAID OF HIM, will not dare meet Green and give him a FAIR CHANCE to reply. This "30 years Senator," after all his boasting will use some means to avoid a reply by this *self-made, self educated* boy of the SAW MILL. While the hectoring Senator was rolling in luxury and receiving a polished education at Washington city, at the PEOPLE'S EXPENSE, this young man, Mr. Green, was *setting the saw*, and reading Blackstone and Chitty on his own hook in a Saw Mill in Lewis county, on the Wyoconda, the very county where Benton has boasted he will *grind him to powder!* HE CAN'T DO IT, and he knows it. His friends fear Green, and hence the *cowardly* and *bullying* attempt at St. Louis to prevent him from speaking.

Will the people of Lewis, Green's own county, take the matter in their hands and give him FAIR PLAY AND AN OPEN FIELD? That is all he asks. In St. Louis, Benton's county, Benton's free negro, abolition bulldogs prevented *fair play*, and covered themselves with infamy and disgrace! Why did they interrupt Mr. Green? Because, of course, they feared him—they *feared the effect* of his speech—of his clear and powerful argument—his bright and glittering wit—his flashing and withering sarcasm!

Mr. Green wishes Col. Benton a *respectful* hearing in Lewis—he would SCORN any advantage except that obtained by the keen encounter of intellectual blades—a *fight and an open field*.

## SUCKER, DON'T SAY YOU WEREN'T WARNED!

From the *St. Louis Daily Missouri Republican*, November 1, 1849.

We are now in receipt of several large shipments . . . of FURNITURE. Much preferring to show you the articles, than trouble you to read a long advertisement, we will say that we will be pleased to show any and all our stock, and will warrant that we will sell at a fair profit.

## OUT OF THE MOUTHS OF BABES . . .

From the *Richmond News*, February 11, 1925.

At a meeting of the Central Community Club last week much interest was aroused over the subject of "Odd Customs," presented by Chairman Shirky. The members were asked to relate some odd customs which they could remember having obtained in their community in by-gone days. Instantly the meeting became quite informal and mirth-provoking.

Ray Hogan, who led the discussion, told of the odd customs in running district schools not more than twenty-five years ago. "The schools were run on the convict plan and I served eleven terms," Mr. Hogan declared. "Teachers were not elected according to their intellectual fitness but according to their physical fitness, according to their ability to clean house periodically. There were no grades and very little record was handed down from one teacher to another. There was no age limit. Very often people past twenty years of age would keep coming trying to learn, but would finally grow discouraged over having to associate with the primer children, so would quit."

Mr. Shirky was reminded of the odd custom of pulling a colt's teeth. Years ago, he said, it was considered necessary to extract a colt's two upper side teeth in order to prevent the colt from going blind.

Prof. Oxley told of some of the odd church customs which he remembered in his community. "When I was a boy there was no certain time for dismissal of church. That depended on the number of preachers present. If there were three preachers present, three preachers talked, but if there were ten preachers present, ten preachers preached. And anyone who could talk loud and long was considered a preacher. Hence, the people knowing this, came prepared. As the noon hour approached one could see all over the church people eating their lunches."

At this juncture a woman in the audience was reminded that it was considered a breach of etiquette not to invite every single family in that church home to dinner with you, and sometimes they all accepted.

She recalled the time when sixty people went home with "Aunt Kate Shirky" one Sunday for dinner. Aunt Kate was hardly prepared for such an inrush so the small boys were sent out to run down the young chickens, while the mothers fell to picking, dressing and cooking the fries. "I remember having gone off to Sunday school at 4:00 o'clock, with the other children before the last table was served," she concluded. Whereupon a young flapper was heard imparting to her companion her decision that "While others might sigh for the good old days, she would prefer the present."

## WORTH HIS WEIGHT IN GOLD

From the Fayette *Missouri Intelligencer*, October 26, 1826.

*Notice is hereby given to all persons*

That CHRISTOPHER CARSON, a boy about 16 years old, small of his age, but thick set; light hair, ran away from the subscriber, living in Franklin, Howard County, Missouri, to whom he had been bound to learn the saddler's trade, on or about the first of September last. He is supposed to have made his way towards the upper part of the state. All persons are notified not to harbor, support or assist said boy under the penalty of the law. One cent reward will be given to any person who will bring back said boy.

DAVID WORKMAN

## NO COLOR LINE

From the Columbia *Missouri Statesman*, February 26, 1864.

The business of recruiting colored men in this State for the army has been carried on quite actively for the past three months, and is still progressing at the different stations. The whole number enlisted up to about the 15th of February, is 3,706.

## BUZZ—BUZZ, I WONDER WHY HE DOES?

From the Fayette *Missouri Intelligencer*, October 12, 1826.

Mr. Patten,

I have just returned from my annual *Bee Hunt*, and seeing some erroneous remarks and calculations in your paper of the 21st September, in relation to *Bee Hunting* I hasten to set you right. You appear to consider it an amusement, unattended by profit or reward. —These ideas are both incorrect—The *Bee Hunt* is a fatiguing, laborious undertaking, but generally the hunter is richly compensated. You calculate the expenses &c. of 40 wagons for 20 days, to be \$3,900, allowing five men to each wagon, whereas three or four is the usual number. I will however admit your calculation. Now let me calculate a little. I am an indifferent hunter, hardly on a par with the majority. Several wagons came in in company with me, and most of them have made a better trip than I have. But I will take mine as an average, and make the calculation from it. I got 90 gallons of honey and 400 pounds of beeswax, besides several deer skins, hams &c. We will say the honey is worth 50 cents per gallon, and the bees wax 25 cents, making \$195. Now 40 wagons at \$195 each, will make \$7,800 which will make the *net proceeds* of the trip \$3,900—a very pretty sum to be brought into the county of Howard in three weeks—"sufficient to pay the state and county tax."—How stand the case now? Almost any subject looks well until we see both sides of it.

A BEE HUNTER

## SOME PEOPLE ARE SO "CATTY!"

From the Columbia *Missouri Statesman*, July 15, 1864.

A correspondent of the Lexington (Mo.) *Union*, tells the following story:

"A very remarkable cat story is in circulation here, the truth of which is vouched for by several respectable persons. There is an old maiden hermit, living about a mile from this place, that has in her possession a yellow kitten, about three months old, upon one side of which is the word "PEACE," and upon the opposite side the word "joy". The hair forming the letters is perfectly white, and is represented as being distinct."

The old "Peace Hen" in Callaway will have to "rise and come agin."

## THEY NEED TO BE "RAPPED UP" AND SENT HOME

From the *Jefferson City Inquirer*, July 24, 1852.

Some of our citizens, within the past few days, have taken considerable interest in the spirit rappings, and we fear some of them give more importance to the subject than it merits. If we may not be regarded as stepping beyond our sphere of duty, we will venture to advise some of our citizens, particularly parents of young Misses, whose minds are not fully matured, that they had better encourage their daughters in some other business, or study, than that of attempting to converse with the spirits. Persons of advanced age, and of science, might very properly congregate together and experiment, for the purpose of philosophising the mystery, if indeed it can be called a mystery; but young persons whose minds are very easily misled, should not be encouraged to engage in a subject, which has destroyed the reason of so many good persons. We hope the citizens of Jefferson will discountenance this humbug, and turn the attention of their children to the ordinary avocations of life. This will be the better course.

## SOME LIKE IT HOT, AND SOME LIKE IT COLD . . . .

From the St. Louis *Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican*, January 25, 1861.

The hyperborean blasts which came down upon us so roughly a day or two ago were like some kinds of medicine—very bitter to take, yet they did much good. They froze up the filthy mud of the streets and gave us a beautiful coat of pure white snow. Young St. Louis on getting out of bed yesterday morning, stared his eyes wide open, at the wonder which had been wrought during the night. "Three inches of snow! Bless my stars, won't we have lots of fun now?" At an early hour, servants might have been seen shoveling the snow from the side-walks and brushing paths up the steps. Then at a later hour out trotted the little ones, with their sleds. There were some splendid vehicles among those little crafts—some, in fact, which, in point of fancy painting, eclipsed anything that Arnot had to show. But the names, above everything else, were striking

to the eye of the passer: "Tiger," "Union," "Secession," "Abe Lincoln," "Smoker Boy," and fifty others with odder names dashed by each other, and competed with each other on the hill from Fourth to Second streets on Market.

The more fashionable, yet not happier portion of humanity, enjoyed the new snow in a different way. Everything on runners, from a dry goods box to a splendid velvet cushioned three-seated sleigh, was in requisition. Arnot's stables, Thornton and Pierce's, and every other livery establishment was ransacked and made to contribute either a horse or a pair of runners for the occasion. Snow is a strange element. It *secedes* fast: therefore everybody felt like enjoying it at the same time. Though the streets were lively all day with the merry bells and fast runners, the evening was the time especially set apart for enjoyment. Locust street, Washington avenue, Fourth street and Chestnut, were from seven o'clock until twelve alive with glorious tin-tinnabulations and shoutings. We venture to remark, that in the enjoyment of the hour, secession and disunion were entirely lost sight of. The proud belles of St. Louis never looked lovelier than yesterday and last evening, with their cheeks tinged with the healthy sharp air.

Several private parties left the city at 8 o'clock on runners last evening, *en route* for the country. They were well covered with buffalo robes, and we have not yet heard that any froze to death.

Among the many fine equipages out enjoying the snow, we would not forget mentioning the splendid team of Mr. J. Y. Hart, the oyster man of Chestnut and Olive streets. This enterprising gentleman improved the occasion by taking huge donations around town to relieve the poor. Ten gallons of oysters were left by him at the soup house to be given out according to Capt. Fealey's good judgment to poor families. Mr. Hart's span of bay horses are as fine as his oysters are.

If the tendency of the snow is to drive away the blues and make people happier, as we think it did yesterday—then may it continue to wave some days to come.

"THE OBJECTS OF THEIR AFFECTION, CHANGED THEIR COMPLEXION  
FROM WHITE TO ROSY RED . . ."

From the *Boonville Weekly Eagle*, August 6, 1870.

The Reason Why. During the latter part of last week a party of young gents having a taste for discoursing sweet music on the midnight air, proposed to delight the fairer sex with their skill, and thither they proceeded. Every thing went merry as a "marriage bell," and the sterner sex were sweetly dreaming of the perfumed "keards" they were to receive at the close of their performance—the house containing the objects of their adoration was enveloped in darkness, and the fact well pleased the serenaders, for immediately they stationed themselves beneath the window, and the sweet notes rose loud and clear—but no "keards"—the expecta-



tion was too great to be so easily disappointed, and the music still came forth— but, alas, the “keerds” came not, and the gents “folded their cloaks around them, and silently stole away.”

The reason why the “fair idyls” threw no cards was simply this: They had other company, and upon hearing the approach of the serenaders, they quietly put out the lights in the front part of the house and withdrew to the rear, where, perhaps, Cupid entertained them, and no “keerds” was the result. Such is life, and the serenaders are doubtless the victims of misplaced confidence.

#### OLD “MOTHER HUBBARD” SHOULD STAY IN THE CUPBOARD

From the *Carthage Republican*, September 18, 1884.

We would not strike a woman under any circumstances, but we must acknowledge that when we see a girl wearing one of those horrible garments known as “Mother Hubbards” we feel inclined to give her a belt.

#### A BUILD-UP FOR THE “GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY”

From the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, March 17, 1917.

Street car conductors are urged to smile at passengers getting aboard and, if possible, address them by name, in an editorial of the current United Railways Bulletin, signed by Richard McCulloch, president of the company.

“Many of our conductors,” McCulloch writes, “meet the same passengers every day and in many instances have come to know them by name. When Mr. Brown gets on the car tomorrow morning, meet him with a smile, and say: ‘Good morning, Mr. Brown.’”

McCulloch admits that Mr. Brown may be surprised, but asserts he will appreciate the attention. When the passenger's name is unknown, it is recommended that he be greeted with a pleasant “Good morning.”

#### A LITTLE “SOFT-SOAP” WILL WORK WONDERS!

From the *Linneus Bulletin*, February 10, 1927.

An old citizen, coming from Kansas City, the other day, was reminded, when he got in the Thompson neighborhood of one they used to tell: That was just after the old North Missouri now the Wabash railroad was builded: and before the Civil War. At that time, of course, the road was unfenced, and the live stock ranged at will over the country. An old lady's cow strayed onto the road, and paid no heed to the Engineer's continued whistling; and, of course was knocked off, and killed. There being no station nearer than Mexico, the owner came down and “took it up” with the agent here. He passed it on to the management, who declined to remunerate her, saying the cow was a trespasser, hence they were not liable. The owner went home with her grievance: and finally sought a compromise by soft-soaping the tracks, for quite a distance in front of her premises.

At that time, they could not apply sand from the engine, as they now do, and had to sand by hand. That caused a great deal of annoyance to the train men having to sand, every time they reached that place—so, to abate the nuisance, they paid her \$15.00 and have had no trouble with her, since.

... AND THE PROPHET SPEAKS!

From the *Missouri Republican*, February 7, 1861.

Bear in mind Prof. Henry's Practicing Party tonight. All wishing to enjoy themselves in good and pleasant company and trip the light fantastic, to elegant music, should not fail to attend, as the Professor's parties are now a "fixed fact," the pleasantest place in the city, as proven by the constant increase in the attendance upon them every Thursday night. Hard times! Hard times! is the cry. The best way known to us of dispelling the *blues* attendant upon the doleful cry of hard times, is to forget them long enough to set inside of Prof. Henry's large hall, watch the smiling face of the fair ladies, and join them in the dance to music which will not permit "ye to stand here idle." If the prescription fails to have the desired effect we are no prophet or son of a prophet.

WHAT A "HANDLE" TO HANG ON A BEND!

Chapter 657 of the "Ray County Chapters", written by E. L. Pigg, Jefferson City and published in the *Richmond Missourian*, December 13, 1943.

Time and again I have written sketches of the Jackass Bend Country of southwestern Ray County, without describing its scope.

The "Jackass Bend Country" comprises all of the bottom land in the southwestern corner of Ray County that lies north of the Missouri river between Ray-Clay county line on the east, and the bluffs on the north.

When the Missouri river bounces off the bluffs of Jackson County just east of the Little Blue river, it takes a northeasternly curved course toward the Wabash Railroad, then runs east for a short distance, when it makes almost a right angle turn and heads due south to impinge on the bluffs at Sibley, where it straightens out and hightails it under the Santa Fe bridge.

This long horseshoe-like bend is called Jackass Bend, and is shown by that name on the maps of the Missouri River, as made by U. S. Engineers as far back as 1868, the date of the first survey.

NAMING THE BEND—In the late 1840's my grandfather, Reuben Pigg, established a steamboat landing in the center of the north arch of the bend—and to this day the old site of Piggs Landing is shown on all maps of the river.

Over a hundred years ago, when the Kentucky pioneers began to seek homes in this heavily timbered valley they hewed logs for homes, split some of them into rails for fencing, and that which could not be used for rails and houses was cut into cordwood and hauled by oxtteams to a wood yard at the river bank, for sale to steamboats.

Until sometime in the late 1850's this river bend had no name.

Some in the valley had heard the story that a jackass had jumped overboard and was drowned—and from that incident this river bend received the name Jackass Bend.

It was only a story, as no one had it from a source that was considered authentic.

After many months of research through libraries, and historical societies without a single clue as to definite information, I began to write to old steamboat captains and river men, hoping that in some way I could find some one who definitely knew the story.

At last, I found that one man—it is William J. Keith of St. Louis, whose father, Captain George Keith, was a pilot on the river at the time.

From his father Mr. Keith learned the story of the naming of this river bend, and he writes this brief explanation:

"You may rest assured that 'Jackass Bend' got its name from the fact that when they were loading stock at this landing (Pigg's Landing) a jackass jumped overboard and was drowned. Until this time, it had no name—and so one of the pilots got the idea of naming it 'Jackass Bend.'"

#### MISSOURI HISTORICAL DATA IN MAGAZINES

*Alabama Historical Quarterly*, Fall issue: "Annals of Louisiana from 1698 to 1922," by M. Penicaut.

*American-German Review*, February: "Emerson and the St. Louis Hegelians," by Henry A. Pochmann.

*Annals of Iowa*, January: "Famous American War Songs," by Marshall Bidwell.

*Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, December: "Major Wolf and Abraham Lincoln, An Episode of the Civil War," by Frances Shiras; "The Journey of a Mormon from Liverpool to Salt Lake City," edited by Austin L. Venable.

*Colorado Magazine*, March: "The Gallatin Saddle," by Edgar C. McMechen.

*Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, March: "The Middle Western Historical Novel," by John T. Flanagan.

*Maryland Historical Magazine*, March: "A Discordant Chapter in Lincoln's Administration: The Davis-Blair Controversy," by Reinhard H. Luthin.

*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, March: "The Establishment of the First Prussian Consulate in the West," by Carl E. Schneider.

*National Municipal Review*, January: "Constitution by Convention; Brevity Keynote of Missouri's Revision Meeting," by Tess Loeb.

*Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, January-March: "The Influence of New England in Denominational Colleges in the Northwest, 1830-1860," by E. Kidd Lockard.

*Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, January: "Sacajawea as Guide: The Evaluation of a Legend," by C. S. Kingston; "Peter John De Smet: The Journey of 1840," by W. L. Davis, S. J.



# *Missouri Historical Review*

*Floyd C. Shoemaker, Editor*



*Volume XXXVIII*

*October 1943—July 1944*

*Published by*

*State Historical Society of Missouri*

*Columbia, Missouri*

*1944*

## Contributors

- ANDERSON, MORRIS, chairman of the Mark Twain Municipal board, Hannibal, Missouri.
- ATHERTON, LEWIS E., associate professor of history, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.
- CULMER, FREDERIC A., professor of history, Central college, Fayette, Missouri.
- FLYNN, DOROTHY DYSART, research associate, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.
- GROSS, JULIET M., former research associate, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.
- HUBACH, ROBERT R., instructor in English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.
- KENNY, FATHER LAURENCE J., S. J., professor of American history at St. Louis university, St. Louis, Missouri.
- LUTHIN, REINHARD H., lecturer in history, Columbia university, New York City, New York.
- MERKEL, BENJAMIN C., principal, Crystal City high school, Crystal City, Missouri.
- MULLETT, CHARLES F., professor of history, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.
- NESS, GEORGE T., JR., member of the department of history, Baltimore Polytechnic institute, Baltimore, Maryland.
- PUMPHREY, FREDERIC M., former reporter, *The St. Joseph Gazette, St. Joseph News-Press*.
- READ, GEORGIA WILLIS, assistant editor, Columbia university press, Meridon, New Hampshire.
- RUTLEDGE, WILEY B., justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Washington, D. C.
- RYLE, WALTER H., president, Northeast Missouri State Teachers college, Kirksville, Missouri.
- SHOEMAKER, FLOYD C., secretary and librarian, State Historical Society, Columbia, Missouri.
- WOOD, MARTHA MAY, social studies teacher, Webster Groves high school, Webster Groves, Missouri.



# Contents

	Page
DISEASES, DRUGS, AND DOCTORS ON THE OREGON-CALIFORNIA TRAIL IN THE GOLD-RUSH YEARS. By <i>Georgia Willis Read</i> .....	260
DONIPHAN, ALEXANDER W., 1808-1887, A SNAPSHOT OF. By <i>Frederic A. Culmer</i> .....	25
LIFE, LABOR, AND SOCIETY IN BOONE COUNTY, MISSOURI, 1834-1852, AS REVEALED IN THE CORRESPONDENCE OF AN IMMIGRANT SLAVE OWNING FAMILY FROM NORTH CAROLINA. By <i>Lewis E. Ather- ton</i> .....	277, 408
LOWRY, DOCTOR JOHN J., A FRONTIER PHYSICIAN. By <i>Charles F. Mullett</i> .....	127
MISSOURIAN AND TEN OF HIS OUTSTANDING REPRESENTATIVES, THE. By <i>Floyd C. Shoemaker</i> .....	241
MISSOURI AND THE WAR	
Part V. By <i>Juliet M. Gross</i> .....	44
Part VI. By <i>Dorothy Dysart Flynn</i> .....	170
Part VII. By <i>Dorothy Dysart Flynn</i> .....	305
Part VIII. By <i>Dorothy Dysart Flynn</i> .....	440
MISSOURI AT WEST POINT. By <i>George T. Ness, Jr.</i> .....	162
MISSOURI, CROSSROADS OF THE NATION. By <i>Wiley B. Rulledge</i> .....	1
ORGANIZING THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN THE "BORDER SLAVE" REGIONS: EDWARD BATES' PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDACY IN 1860. By <i>Reinhard H. Luthin</i> .....	138
ST. JOE Gazette, THE OLD. By <i>Frederic M. Pumphrey</i> .....	33
ST. LOUIS, HOST OF CELEBRATED NINETEENTH CENTURY BRITISH AND AMERICAN AUTHORS. By <i>Robert R. Hubach</i> .....	375
SLAVERY ISSUE AND THE POLITICAL DECLINE OF THOMAS HART BENTON, THE. By <i>Benjamin C. Merkel</i> .....	388
TRACES IN EARLY MISSOURI, 1700-1804. By <i>Mariha May Wood</i> .....	12
MISSOURIANA	
Bloody Saline of the Salt River Country, The.....	203
Buy At Your Leisure—and Your Risk.....	462
Furs, Shinplaster, and Pennies.....	73
Glory Is Upon Us—A Missouri Spring.....	330
Houn' Dawg Regiment, The.....	195
Marriages Arranged This Side of Heaven.....	334
Melodies and Soft Shoes in Blackface.....	192
Missouri Miniatures	
Robert Somers Brookings.....	82
James Gay Butler.....	84

## Missouri Historical Review

	Page
George Washington Carver .....	470
Kate Chopin .....	207
George Engelmann .....	338
Jessie L. Gaynor .....	208
Joseph Nash McDowell .....	340
Henry Shaw .....	470
Missouri Scrapbook .....	93, 214, 344, 473
Missouri, The Name .....	199
Murder to Music .....	69
<i>Official Manual of the State of Missouri, The</i> .....	465
Music Under the Stars .....	458
Red-Letter Books Relating to Missouri	
<i>Adventures of Tom Sawyer, The</i> . Review by Morris Anderson .....	85
<i>Missouri and Missourians: Land of Contrasts and People of Achievements</i> . Review by Father Laurence J. Kenny, S. J. ....	209
<i>Missouri, Day by Day</i> . Review by Walter H. Ryle .....	341
Singing School, The .....	325
Stump Speaking and Fence Mending .....	63
Warrensburg Family During the Civil War, A .....	452
West With Pike .....	77

### HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

Acquisitions .....	221, 481
Activities of County Historical Societies .....	103, 220, 352, 480
Anniversaries .....	104, 222, 353, 481
Down the Oregon Trail .....	219
Graduate Theses Relating to Missouri .....	100
Gregg Manuscript .....	99
Historical Publications .....	109, 227, 357, 487
Marking Historical Sites in St. Louis .....	350
Members Active in Increasing Society's Membership .....	95, 217, 347, 475
Mississippi Valley Historical Convention .....	478
Monuments and Memorials .....	106, 223, 354, 484
New Members of the Society .....	96, 218, 348, 476
Notes .....	107, 224, 355, 484
Obituaries .....	113, 230, 361, 491
<i>St. Louis in Former Years</i> .....	98
State Historical Society Holds Annual Business Meeting .....	477
Wanted: Missouri Directories .....	351
Weekly Feature Articles of the Society .....	99, 220, 351, 479

### MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

Anchors Aweigh .....	369
And in the Other Corner, Ladies and Gentlemen! .....	495

# Contents

	<i>Page</i>
And the Prophet Speaks.....	501
And Wooden Nickels.....	122
Battle of the Sink-Hole, The.....	120
Blackout's Over!.....	366
Build-Up for the "Good Neighbor" Policy, A.....	500
Buyer Beware!.....	122
Buzz, Buzz, I wonder Why He Does.....	497
Case of the Wagon Wheels, The.....	366
Check and Double Check.....	239
Customer Is Always Right, The.....	235
Dogs Take It on the Lam.....	236
He Saw The Light.....	239
It Didn't Rise to the Occasion.....	236
Little "Soft Soap" Will Work Wonders, A.....	500
Missouri.....	124
<i>Missouri and Missourians</i> .....	119
Missouri Historical Data in Magazines.....	125, 240, 372, 502
No Color Line.....	497
Off With the Pikers!.....	122
Oh! Young Lochinvar Came Out of the West.....	365
Old "Mother Hubbard" Should Stay in the Cupboard.....	500
Out of the Mouths of Babes.....	496
Paul Bunyan Story from Missouri, A.....	367
Same Old Song, That.....	366
She Had a Mind . . . . And Spoke It!.....	237
She Stoops to Conquer!.....	365
Some Finagling's Been Goin' On!.....	236
Some Like It Hot, and Some Like It Cold.....	498
Some People Are So "Catty!".....	498
"Strip Tease".....	237
Sucker, Don't Say You Weren't Warned!.....	496
"The Objects of Their Affection, Changed Their Complexion from White to Rosy Red".....	499
They Need to be "Rapped Up" and Sent Home.....	498
'Twas Ever Thus.....	239
We Shine in Reflected Glory.....	237
What a "Handle" to Hang on a Bend.....	501
Why Didn't We Hear Before?.....	367
Worth His Weight in Gold.....	497
Ye Olde Political Hornbook.....	368
Zoot Suit of 1818, The.....	121

## *Illustrations*

MINSTREL SHOW. January 1944 cover design by *William A. Knox*.  
PLANTERS' HOUSE. July 1944 cover design by *William A. Knox*.  
SINGING SCHOOL. April 1944 cover design by *William A. Knox*.  
"THAT SAME OLD TUNE." October 1943 cover design by *William A. Knox*.

	<i>Page</i>
"TOM AND HUCK." Sketched from the statue in Hannibal by <i>William A. Knox</i> .....	86





